

University of Bombay

GUJARÂTÎ LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

PRESENTED BY

Shri. K. M. Thacker

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N. B. DIVATIA, B.A. (BOM.)

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TO

MY REVERED *GURU*

SIR RÂMAKRISHṆA GOPÂL BHÂNDÂRKAR, K.C.S I.

M. A., PH. D., LL. D.

HON. M. R. A. S.

I DEDICATE

WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION

THIS HUMBLE WORK

THE FRUIT OF STUDIES INSPIRED BY HIS TEACHING

PREFACE

THESE Lectures were delivered by me under the Bombay University endowment called the WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES. The lectures, seven in number, were spread over a period of two months (3rd December 1915 to 11th February 1916). Lectures I, II, III and IV were fully written out before delivery, while Lectures V, VI, and VII were delivered from copious notes, which have been expanded now. Lecture IV grew so much in size during this process that it has had to be divided into three sections, and eventually the whole work has to be cut up into two volumes; the Introduction being reserved for the second volume. The first volume includes Lectures I, II, III and the three sections of Lecture IV. The second volume will comprise Lectures V, VI, VII; which treat the following subjects —

Lecture	Subject
V	History of Gujarâti Language.
VI	Gujarâti Literature—a Historical sketch.
VII	The future tendency of Gujarâti Language and Literature.

and Introduction to the two volumes.

It is expected that the second volume will be out in less than a year from now.

The study of the Indian vernaculars from the philological point of view has attracted the serious attention of scholars in the West comparatively recently. The late Dr. Te-sitori, whose untimely death is a great loss to philological scholarship, pursued this subject especially with reference to Gujarâti and Mâravâdi with remarkable zeal, acumen and insight. (I had the privilege of corresponding with him, exchanging views on our favourite subject, and, but for his premature end, we expected to meet and compare notes on the subject of our common interest: Gujarâti philology).

In the lectures I now place before the scholar world, I have made an attempt, humble though it be, to deal with the position of the Indian Vernaculars Gujarâti in particular in the light of the general principles of comparative philology, showing how these principles have governed the evolution of these vernaculars, and how their individual growth was guided by special laws. How far I have succeeded in my task which was to me a labour of love, is for those, who are competent, to judge in this matter.

I cannot conclude without expressing my sense of gratitude towards the Syndicate of the University of Bombay for sanctioning the publication of these lectures under the auspices of the University and for undertaking the responsibility of the expenses for the printing and publication of the same.

I must also thank two young friends, Mr. Sanmukhlal J. Pandya B.A., and Mr. Manjural I. Yagnik, B.A. for preparing the Index of this volume which involved great labour and sacrifice of time.

I am also indebted to the proprietor of the Gujarâti Printing Press for the unfailing courtesy and convenience given to me at every step in the tiresome work of printing these lectures; nor must I forget to mention with gratefulness the humble printers who submitted patiently and with readiness to all my exacting directions requiring constant alterations in the "copy" from time to time.

Bandra (Bombay) }
August 1921. }

N. B. DIVATIA.

NOTE —

Several references to articles &c. published after these Lectures and certain discussions subsequent to them have been added in the course of printing these lectures. They are admitted anachronisms so far.

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Class A— <i>Utsargas</i> peculiar to Gujarātī alone; Class B— <i>Utsargas</i> partially peculiar to Gujarātī; Class C— <i>Utsargas</i> jointly shared by Gujarātī with other vernaculars.		
Number of <i>Utsarga</i>	Subject of <i>Utsarga</i>	Page or pages
I	(Section I)—CLASS A	
	विज्ञत अ and अ (wide sound of <i>e</i> and <i>o</i>). Subordinate or incidental <i>Utsargas</i> :— 1. <i>Prati-samprasāraṇa</i> (प्रतिप्रसारण) 2. Dropping of a इतत अ 3. अइ-अउ become ऐ-औ or remain as अइ-अउ. 4. Abnormal cases of विज्ञत sound. ओ and ऐ, and अ endings of nouns and adjectives.	125, 129 to 152 and up to 187 125 to 128 129 152-153 153-155 157-205, again 214-218 206-213
II	<i>Incidental utsarga</i> —1. "Silent" अ 2. ओ, उ and अ endings of words derived from Persian and Arabic. Non-final इ and उ changed to अ	219-222 222 ff
III		

Subordinate or incidental *Utsarga*:—

(a) Final ξ changed to η	222 ff.
(b) η dropped in certain cases	
(c) Non-final ξ changed to α	
(d) Non-final ξ changed to γ	
(e) Final and non-final α changed to α	222-234
(f) Non-final α changed to γ	234-241
(g) Non-final α changed to α	241-271
Verbal root-stem. formation of—	
Corpus of the Gujarātī verbal root	284-289

(Section II)-CLASS B.

द्वार—(क) Shifting of situation

(a) towards the beginning of words

(b) towards the end

(ग) Interpolation of ξ

(ग) Loss of ξ

Incidental *Utsarga*:—

ξ goes back to α

CLASS C

I	Soft (युक्त) <i>anuvāra</i> —(1) original strong <i>anuvāra</i> weakened 317-319
	(2) Soft <i>anuvāra</i> added in Gujarātī 319-322
II	Loss of <i>anuvāra</i>
III	Strong <i>anuvāra</i> added
IV	Incidental—Principles governing the pronunciation of <i>anuvāra</i> in Gujarātī
	Nasalized soft consonants (ξ , γ , α)
	325
	328-333

Number of <i>Utsarga</i>	Subject of <i>Utsarga</i>	Page of Pages
V	Pure sonant of a class changed to the nasal of that class (उ to ण व to म)	333 337
VI	त changed to त्	337-340
VII	Prakrit and Sanskrit sounds of च छ ज झ	340 359
VIII	प (initial) and ष (non initial) changed to न	360-361
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X	Change of उ to ऊ	362 368
XI	अस्वतित्प्रथमश्रुतिलोप (The dropping of an unaccented initial syllable)	368-378
XII	व्यञ्जननाश (Elision of a final consonant with the vowel some times of a non final one)	378 385
XIII	सयोगलोप पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व (Simplification of conjunct with lengthening of preceding vowel)	385 396
XIV	सयोगलोप पूर्वस्वर अविकृत (Simplification of conjunct with preceding vowel remaining unchanged)	396-400
XV	विश्लेष (Dissolution of conjunct)	400-404
XVI	Non initial conjunct remains unsimplified	404-406
XVII	Non initial strong conjunct weakened (सुबल सयोगतु निबल यतु)	406-409
XVIII	Non initial strong conjunct (निबल सयोगतु सुबल यतु)	409 410
XIX	Strengthening of weak conjunct (निबल सयोगतु सुबल यतु)	410-414
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	य् and व् as <i>dgamas</i> , (adventitious interpolation of य् and व्)	420-424
	<i>Samprasāraṇa</i> (सप्रसारण)	
	(Section III) See Contents last portion	

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. Arabic	L. S. I. Linguistic Survey of India
Ap. } Apabhramśa	L. G. Low German
Apabhr. }	M. Marāthi
Arm. Armenian	Mār. Mārvadi
A. S. Anglo-Saxon.	M. E. Middle English
A. V. Atharva Veda	M. L. G. Middle Low German
Av. Avasta	Mugdhiv. Mugdhāva bodha
B. Bangālī	Ankika
Dist. District	"Notes" (Tessitori-) "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthani."
Eng. English	O. Oriya
F. French	O. (with languages), old
G. } Gujarāṭī	O. F. Old French
Guj. }	O. W. R. } Old Western Rājasthani
Guj. (in Guj. Śālipatra), Gujarāt	O. W. R. j. }
Ger. } German	P. Panjābī
Germ. }	P. }
Gk. } Greek	Per } Persian.
Gr. }	Pers. }
Goth. Gothic	Pa. Pālī
H. Hindi	Pr. }
Ind. Ant. } Indian Antiquary	Prak. }
Ind. Antiq. }	Prkr. }
Interm. Intermediate (formation).	Prakr. }
It. Italian.	Pr. Gr. Prākṛit grammar.
J. A. S. Beng. N. S., Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series	Prāk. Laksh. Prākṛit Lakṣhaṇa
J. B. B. R. A. S. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society	Pr. Prak, Prākṛit Prakāśa
J. R. A. S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society	Pt. Portuguese
Kan. Kanarese	Rik Prīt., Rik. Prātīśakhya
Lat. Latin	Rt. root
	Ru. Rīgveda
	S., Sindhi

S.	} Sanskrit	V. S. Vikrama Samvat
Sans.		Ved. Vedic
Sk.		का० प्रपा० अध्या०; काण्ड, प्रपा
Sk.		अध्याय.
St. Hê.	} Siddha H e m a -	वृ. का. दो. बृहत् काव्यदोहन
St. Hêma.		सि हे. सिद्ध हेमचन्द्र
Sp. Spanish		√(as in √दाह), root
St. Stanza		*Sign affixed to conjecture
Term., Termination		forms
Tl. Taluka		

WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES

ON

GUJARÂTÎ LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

LECTURE I.

*Introductory-Influences affecting the Evolution
of Language.*

इति गुह्यं नमस्तुभ्य संस्तुतुं श्रुतमात्मनः ।
आरभे कार्यमयेदं परित्यज्य पठस्पृहाम् ॥

This salutation brings before my mind's eye the first series of lectures under this endowment, delivered in *Prefatory* 1877 A.D. by my revered *Guru*, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (then simply Professor Bhandarkar). I cannot forget the scene when I, a humble pupil of his, sat amongst the audience listening with rapt admiration to the learned words that fell from his lips. All I now possess by way of knowledge and training, little though that all is, I owe that all mostly to that *Guru* of mine, to his influence, direct or indirect. It is but fitting and natural, then, that I should at this moment remember him, after taking the name of the Great Inspirer of all knowledge and wisdom.

It will be borne in mind that the scope of these lectures was originally confined to Sanskrit and other classical languages, and the Prākṛits and derived vernaculars came in for a limited share in the treatment, at any rate, the present vernaculars of India were not for a number of years considered a fit subject of treatment by themselves in these lectures. It is therefore a matter for sincere congratulation that the vernaculars have now been given a place of honour by their being put down for independent treatment in these lectures. This welcome change may be attributed to a certain extent to the inclusion of the vernaculars in the

syllabus for the M A degree, the result of the masterly and persistent agitation carried on by the late M G R nade with an amount of tact zeal and ability which he alone possessed and knew how to bring into play But a more potent cause of this change seems to me to be the fact that the interest of western scholars was awakend to some extent by the efforts of pioneers in the investigation of the vernaculars like the late H H Dhruva who contributed some notable¹ papers to the congress of orient alists in the years 1891 and 1892 A D Since then learned *pandits* like Dr Tessitori have devoted themselves heart and soul to a study and exposition of some of our vernaculars, and the results of their research so far as they are placed before the publi form an invaluable part in the materials for a scholarly study of our vernaculars In this connection I must not forget the grand effort of Sir George Grierson whose monumental work the Linguistic Survey of India with all the shortcomings inseparable from such an extensive undertaking must be hailed as an unequalled service to the cause of the Vernaculars

Our ancient traditional method of study considers at the threshold of all inquiry the question of *adhikāra* *Adhikāra* i.e preliminary qualification the minimum of *sine qua non* to entitle one to enter upon the study of a particular subject There is more sense in this than may ordinarily be supposed For the purpose of our present study I believe the question of *adhikāra* may well be given the importance that is its due I emphasize this view because I have noticed a tendency for every man qualified or unqualified to pose if not as an authority certainly as one qualified to speak on the subject simply on the strength of Gujarati being his mother tongue The absurdity of such claims is obvious the elements of *adhikāra* for our present study that is the preliminary qualifications required then are a proper study of our vernacular language and literature a knowledge of Sanskrit and the Pr krit languages a certain amount of knowledge

1 Transactions of the Eighth and Ninth Congress of Orientalists

of Persian (with Arabic), and, last but not the least, a decent knowledge of the principles of philology and comparative method of study. I need not dwell at any further length on this point.

With these brief preparatory remarks I must now turn to an inquiry leading to our subject matter. At the start we must recognize the subtle nature of the object of our investigation,—I mean language itself. It is almost as subtle as, if not sometimes more subtle and elusive than, the material which the physicist or the chemist has to deal with in his laboratory. Words, their nature and their origin and their uses, as also the sound-formations constituting words, form a fascinating study, the very fascination of which furnishes a pleasant compensation for the number of disappointments which are strewn in the path of the student who undertakes this branch of research. Like the student of physical or chemical sciences, the student of language working in his linguistic laboratory, has to place under the microscope or put into the test-tube and hold it over his critical flame or examine with the help of re-agents peculiar to his science, words and formations; note, collate, reject and collect instances enough in quality or quantity for inductive generalization; or, it may happen on occasions, he catches a rare inspiration which reveals to him the truth by an intuitive flash rather than a laboured process of discursive reasoning. And, further, he is enabled to submit the object of this inspiration to a calm analysis which eventually justifies the intuition. Of course, an honest investigator, as already hinted above, must be prepared for occasional disappointments, if disappointments they can be called, when such analytical examination and the light thrown by collateral investigations compel him to give up the object of the first flash of what was believed to be inspiration, but which eventually turns out to be some fallacy disguised as inspiration. When he thus discovers that what he believed to be golden fruit has turned into mere ashes, the true investigator does not feel disheartened, but profits by his mistake, and pursues his course

further on correct lines till he is rewarded by a revelation of the truth

Another simple fact has also to be borne in mind by the student of philology. It is beautifully and concisely expressed in Kalidasa's well known simile वागर्थाविवसृक्तौ as applied to God and his Power. I mean the inseparable nature of language and thought. They jointly constitute one fact which is like the leaf of a book, its two pages constituting the whole, they themselves being mutually inseparable. They are a single phenomenon with two aspects. We cannot think without shaping our thoughts in some language or other, (the mental condition where 'sensation, soul and form' melt into one being quite a different inward experience—one wherein "Thought is not"), and we cannot talk without breathing life into our words. We are not concerned with some people who can talk without thinking, such men are too often met with in life. But for our scientific purposes the fact stands that we cannot speak without thinking. This double nature makes the study of languages and their history specially attractive, for we have to deal with objects instinct with spirit, and not with dead carcasses. Thus Kalidasa's simile shows a special significance when अर्थ is represented as a symbol of the Great Spirit and वाक् a symbol of the potent manifestation of that spirit.

It is outside the sphere of our present subject to go into the great question of the origin of language or the question whether there was one human language at the start and how it multiplied. This subject can be studied independently, and we must start with accepting the results of investigation into that subject as our postulates. We shall thus regard it as proved that in the course of human evolution languages have followed certain processes of evolution and as a result we find a number of languages which can be connected together into groups of kinship. Sanskrit being one of this old family of languages our present inquiry will be principally confined to the question of the relation in which Gujarati stands to it, and, incidentally to other vernaculars of India.

In considering this question we must place before our mind the forces and influences that act on the formation and growth of languages and literature. These may be broadly placed under three principal heads —

A Historical conditions

B Geographical conditions,

and C Phonetic forces

Of these the last constitutes an intrinsic force and the first two indicate extrinsic forces, as will be at once perceived. We shall run over each of these three heads as quickly as possible. To take them in their order historical conditions should cover not only the political history of a people but the history of their evolution in their social, religious, industrial and many other aspects. All these contribute more or less to the influence on a people's language and literature. For it must be noted that history, to be real, must be the history of a people not of a country though it must be admitted, a country in this connection has no meaning without the people inhabiting it. Viewed in this light the ancient practice of naming countries after the names of the peoples dwelling therein, e.g. *विदर्भ*, *कोसल*, *कुसु* and the like acquires a special significance. A History of the English People therefore, is a correct title, while 'A History of England' would be a misnomer.

Well, then coming to Gujarat, can we rightly say that the Gujaratis are a people? I shall say—yes in a certain sense at least as giving them their own individuality and as affecting the course of their language.

At this point I should like to throw a glance at the view expressed by Max Müller on the question of history and language. He seems to oppose the view that it would be impossible to understand the life and growth of any language without an historical knowledge of the times in which that language grew up. He holds that the science of language can declare itself completely

*Max Müller's view—
the science of language
is independent of
history—the view ex-
amines the life of
a people expressed
in their language*

independent of history ² It appears to me that Max Müller assumed this bold attitude because of the special purpose he had in view, viz to show that the science of language was one of the physical sciences Severed from this purpose the above view can hardly be accepted as correct For what is history but the record of the life of a people ? And what is language but one of the modes of expression of that life ? This linking factor of life would be a sufficient justification for the view that history is one of the forces affecting the language of a people Let us take a simple instance the words पाद or पद् or in later usage चरण which all signify 'the foot or the leg' are used to denote 'a one fourth part' i.e. one line of a stanza and पाद again is further used to denote the fourth part of a chapter (as in the sub-divisions of Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*) and further simply—'a one fourth part' 'a quarter' Now, why was it that the idea of a one fourth was associated with these words meaning primarily 'a foot' ? For human beings have only two feet or two legs The answer will at once spring up in your mind when you recall the pastoral and agricultural life our ancient ancestors led, when the quadrupeds especially the cow, were a most familiar sight of daily experience That familiarity naturally gave them the word पाद to express the idea of one out of four ³ This word has come into our vernar-

2 ' Lectures on the Science of Language —Vol I Pp 81 85

3 Mr K H Dhruva, in his Gujarātī paper on पदरचनान्तरप्रकार, read before the 2nd Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad (Buddhiprāsāda January 1908 pp 14 15) states that the sense—a line of a stanza was given to the words पद, चरण and पद् from the analogy of the human legs, as he assumes that in the *Icās* the stanzas with two lines must have been earlier in point of time than those with three or four lines I do not suppose there is any basis for this assumption and the theory built on it Dr E Vernon Arnold in his work on ' Vedic Metre ' (p 171 § 201, explanation IV) holds the view that *gāyatrī* (which has three verses i.e. lines) appears to be later than *anustubh* (which contains four verses to a stanza) Again it is more natural that men should take as bases for the expression of their ideas outward things and animals familiar to them than that they should look towards their own bodies for the purpose The case of the ten fingers being the primal basis of numeration is distinguishable 1 or

culars in the changed forms of पाद (H. and M.) and पा (G.), indicating purely the idea of a one fourth part when the sense of a leg is forgotten altogether, while पाय (G. and M.) derived from the same word पाद expresses simply 'a leg', or "a foot." (Compare the word पादु in Kanarese, signifying "a leg" as also "a quarter").

Then, again, to show that even the structural side of language is so often affected by the history of a people we have simply to notice the importation of foreign sounds into a language as a result of contact or commingling of one race with other races. Thus the infusion of Persian words into Gujarati (and other vernaculars) is a phenomenon of special interest, when foreign sounds like *z* are at first imported, then modified into those nearest to them, and, as recent attempts in Gujarati literature at pure Persianism show, are again re-adopted, *z* distinguishing dot or similar sign being introduced to mark the Persian sound.

Again take the sounds *z*, *zh*, *z*, *z*; it is believed that these lingual sounds did not belong to the primitive Aryan language, but

such an object would be obviously difficult to find outside one's body. Then again we are not compelled to assume that the technical sense of 'a verse of a stanza' was given to the word पद or पद्य as early as the Vedic period. It is quite possible that this term was invented after the four versed stanza established itself in Sanskrit literature on prosody. But we need not depend on surmises of this nature when we find this sense of a verse of a stanza (the number of verses being four) as far back as the Vedic literature. Burdett 27, speaks of पद and distinctly gives पद्य as the primary sense and then gives the sense of "a division", which is fully explained by the commentator as पद्य इति. The St. Petersburg Lexicon gives under पद and पद्य the meanings - (1) one fourth (for the former word) and (2) one fourth of a metre (for the latter word), and the *Atreya Smriti* is referred to in the case of the former and the *Atreya Smriti* and the *Veri* etc. are referred to in the case of the latter.

independent of history ? It appears to me that Max Muller assumed this bold attitude because of the special purpose he had in view, viz, to show that the science of language was one of the physical sciences. Severed from this purpose, the above view can hardly be accepted as correct. For what is history but the record of the life of a people ? And what is language but one of the modes of expression of that life ? This linking factor of life would be a sufficient justification for the view that history is one of the forces affecting the language of a people. Let us take a simple instance, the words पाद or पद् or in later usage, चरण which all signify 'the foot' or 'the leg' are used to denote "a one fourth part" i.e. one line of a stanza, and पाद again is further used to denote the fourth part of a chapter (as in the sub-divisions of Panini's Ashtādhyāyī), and further simply—'a one fourth part,' "a quarter." Now, why was it that the idea of a one fourth was associated with these words, meaning primarily 'a foot' ? For human beings have only two feet, or two legs. The answer will at once spring up in your mind when you recall the pastoral and agricultural life our ancient ancestors led, when the quadrupeds especially the cow, were a most familiar sight of daily experience. That familiarity naturally gave them the word पाद to express the idea of "one out of four" ² This word has come into our vernacular

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Again take the sound- ङ, ञ, ण, ण; it is believed that these lingual sounds did not belong to the primitive Aryan language, but

such an object would be obviously difficult to find outside one's body. Then, again we are not compelled to assume that the technical sense of 'a verso of a stanza' was given to the word णि or ण as early as the Vedic period. It is quite possible that this term was invented after the four-versed stanza established itself in Sanskrit literature on prosody. But we need not depend on surmises of this nature when we find this sense of a verso of a stanza (the number of verses being four) as far back as the Vedic literature. Nirukta, 2-7, speaks of णि and distinctly gives णि as the णि i.e. primary sense and then gives the sense of "a division", which is fully explained by the commentator as मन्त्र etc. The St. Petersburg Lexicon gives under णि and णि the meanings - (1) one-fourth (for the former word) and (2) one-fourth of a metre (for the latter word), and the Atharva Veda is referred to in the case of the former and the Atreya Brâhmana, the Nirukta, the Prâśādhya etc. are referred to in the case of the latter.

were imported from Dravidian tongues.⁴ Even if we may hesitate to give acceptance to this theory in its full and widest extent, this much is certain, viz. that a number of words containing these lingual sounds and especially their double conjuncts are distinctly foreign to Sanskrit and an inflow from Dravidian languages.⁵

Then, again, the considerable number of words which cannot be traced to Sanskrit through any phonetic principles, and which found their way into Sanskrit or are present in all our Sanskrit-derived vernaculars, can only be explained on a historical basis by the contact which the Aryans came into with the aboriginal tribes of India. I may here add, with some diffidence but tentatively, a theory that, considering the successive influx of foreign tribes, several of them non-Aryan ethnically, that marks the history of India, it is not unlikely that the various languages which these foreign tribes brought with them may have contributed to the local languages their own share, and to this may be attributed many words vaguely classed as *Deśya* or aboriginal. Furthermore, to the same influence may perhaps be ascribed the non-Sanskrit pronunciation of the palatals ञ, ण, ण and ण which occurs in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī in the case of certain words and under certain circumstances, unless it be that, existing as it did in the Prākṛit period, it may be supposed to have come down since the beginning of the Prākṛits which are believed by Dr. Bhāndārkar and other great authorities to be spoken collaterally with Sanskrit. All the same, there being no evidence as to the exact nature of these sounds during the early Prākṛit period, it is permissible to hold that the non-Sanskrit sounds may have been introduced even into the Prākṛits by the foreign immigrants into India. But before any definite conclusion can be arrived at we must ascertain how these letters were sounded by those tribes, if we have any means of ascertaining it.⁶

1. The Encyclopædia Britannica (ninth Edition) XVIII, 787 c.

5. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar's views support this theory. (See his Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 47-48).

6. For a more detailed discussion of this question see Lecture IV *infra*.

* Turning from the morphological to another aspect of language and its constitution, the influence of history on the language of a people will be manifest in the political and socio political institutions of a country leaving their stamp on it. Thus for instance the feudal system has given to the English language a number of words of special significance which cannot be properly rendered into the language of peoples who have had no such institutions. Similarly, the ideals and ideas connected with the chivalry⁷ of the middle ages in Europe have given a vocabulary which cannot find an exact counterpart in other portions of the globe. Even in India, where, during the Rajput period or Rajasthan chivalry and political ascendancy, there existed a faint counterpart of the institutions of the West, this difficulty is sure to be experienced.

This factor of historical influence is most potently visible in the contact and commingling of races politically, socially, and religiously. Take the instance of Greece under the Roman Empire during the fifth century A. D.

"The inhabitants of Thrace and Macedonia were greatly diminished in number and began to lose the use of their ancient languages from their admixture with foreign races."

(*'Greece under the Romans'* by George Finlay. Everyman's Library—page 174)

'The devastations of the northern invaders of the empire prepared the way for a great change in the races of mankind who dwelt in the regions between the Danube and the Mediterranean. New races were introduced from abroad, and new races were formed by the admixture of native proprietors and colonies with

7 Chivalry and feudalism are here spoken of as apart, for as Schoffell warns us in his book on "Chivalry in English Literature," chivalry is not to be confounded with feudalism. "Feudalism was a form of social organism based on military principles. Chivalry was an ideal binding men together by participation in potent spiritual enthusiasm."

emigrants and domestic slaves Colonies of agricultural emigrants were introduced into every province of the empire Several of the languages still spoken in Eastern Europe bear evidence of changes which commenced at this period Modern Greek Albanian and Vallachian are more or less the representatives of the ancient languages of Greece Epirus and Thrace modified by the influence of foreign elements (*Ibid page 191*)

The Roman people now (i e during the reign of Justinian 527 to 565 A D) consisted chiefly of Greeks, but Latin seems to have been spoken in Illyricum and Thrace by a very numerous portion of the population Perhaps the original languages of these countries blended easily with Latin from being cognate tongues and soon began to form dialects which time has now modified into the Vallachian and Albanian languages of the present day (*Ibid page 203 n*)

This picture will easily remind us by way of analogy as well as contrast, of what happened in India to its languages during the numerous foreign immigrations in the pre Mahomedan period Almost a similar repetition of events occurred in India but with this modification that the inherent potency of the Aryan civilization as also the kinship of some of the immigrating races with the Aryan races in India saved the vernaculars from being utterly cut adrift from their mother languages Sanskrit and early Prakrits The hordes of Greeks Śakas Abhiras Kushanas Hailayas Hūnas Gurjaras and others that poured into India during a period covering the centuries between the 4th century B C and the 6th century A D came to stay intermingle with and be lost into the vast population of India True they were not so overpowering in their might as to crush and wipe off the local institutions But it cannot be imagined to be possible that they should not to some extent impress their peculiarities on the people of the country And as it cannot be that they did not bring with them their own languages it is highly probable that even while adopting the languages of the countries in which they

eventually settled (as they very often adopted the local religion and other institutions), they, in their turn, also left some marks, not now clearly traceable, on the languages of those countries.

I have, on set purpose, excluded the Mahomedan period from the fore-going survey. The influence exercised on our vernaculars by the Mahomedan contact was different in nature and extent from that which the vernaculars received from the languages of previous immigrants. In their cases the races that came in mutual contact intermingled eventually, presenting a result like a chemical combination, whereas the Mussalman incomers, although they came to stay, remained unmixed with the Hindu population to a considerable extent, presenting a case of mechanical mixture. The consequence was that in spite of a copious addition to their vocabularies from the Persian and Arabic, the vernaculars maintained their *genius* unaffected by these two foreign tongues. The idiom, grammar, and the essential composition of our languages do not seem to have been perceptibly modified by the Mahomedan contact. Thus we find numerous Persian and Arabic words in Gujarāṭī (and other vernaculars) as commonly current, e.g. गेहर, मजीक, अयाज, नगरं, अलखत, बिट्टुल, कुल, बेसरम, शरम, कलम, काजी, दरवाजी, दरकार, गरज, घीमार, etc., etc., etc.

These are, however, but external infusions, not influencing the essentials of the language. Only one little word presents an exceptional case; the word के (= 'that', conjunctive particle), may possibly have come from Persian. We now use it frequently, if not always, in sentences like रामे सीताने वरुं के रहमे यनमां आवसो नहिं. The older word in the place of के would be जे from Sanskrit यन् which is still preserved as ज्ञ in forms of letters, bonds, and the like; e. g.

(1) जन छग्या कारण प छे जे,

(2) हम्तागराण दन्या जन

(from Sanskrit) हम्ताधराणि दन्या यन्

[In instance (1) before जत come certain introductory words as पूज्याराधे अनेक शुभ उपमा जोग तीर्थरूप थी—(अमुक)—जोग (जोग=योग here stands for 'to', i e addressed to) The जत here begins abruptly without the preceding idea to be connected with the subsequent one. Such idioms are seen in other languages also for instance in English that heading paragraphs in memorials etc

In instance (2) some word like रखी आपुड are to be understood before जत]

Marathi also has वीं and जे in similar use

(1) आपण सांगितलें कीं तें शक्य नाहिं

(2) अजें करितो ऐसा जे⁸

It is however equally possible to derive this Gujarati के from किम् the interrogative sense naturally veering round to the affirmative. Thus रामे कहु—किम् ? (i e शु कहु ?—what did he say? viz this) etc

Through this psychological step किम् may easily come to acquire the affirmative sense implied in के=that. It may, therefore be argued that the Persian derivation of के and the remarks based thereon must be taken with the reservation created by this very possible alternative derivation. This caution gains support from the fact that the Marathi word कीं is used under similar conditions and that it is marked with an *anusāra*, the remnant of the म in किम्⁹

The French equivalent for that' (conjunction) viz *que* (pronounced as /a) will also indicate the same conclusion as it is connected with Lat *quid* (= 'what', interrogative), and *quod* which carries amongst other senses the conjunctive sense in certain

⁸ This use of जे is confined to formal documents like petitions &c and कीं is the word used in current language

⁹ Dr Bhāndārkar derives के (Guj) from किम् through कक, कय-कभ, (Wilson Philological Lectures, P 196). This would get rid of the *anusāra* and consequent difficulty. But how about the *anusāra* in the Marathi कीं? And the greatest fact is as will be seen further below the virtual absence of के and the presence of जे in pre-Mahomedan literature

circumstances, as well as an interrogative sense, the conjunctive sense being more extensively noticeable in post classical Latin than in classical Latin. The *qu* pronounced as *l* in French points to the probability of a similar pronunciation in Latin during some stage of its growth. And this was actually the case. "In several forms and words there was a tendency in classical Latin to convert the *qu* into the *l* sound. Cicero actually spelt *qu* as *o* (which in Latin was pronounced as *l*), in several words. *cum*, for instance, instead of 'quum' (= whom). It is clear that 'the sound of *qu* was *lr* but it constantly lapsed into *l* in different forms of the same word and already in the days of classical Latin the *qu* of many a respectable member of the Latin vocabulary had commuted the inherited *qu* into the *l* sound and spelled as a *c*'¹⁰ On the other hand, it may be that the *lra* sound in the Sanskrit *क्व* (= where?) lost the *ra* in the variants (or rather the original) *क्विम्* etcetera. Any how, the above considerations may go to confirm the derivation of *કે* in Gujarati from the Sanskrit *क्विम्* and it may be contended, with some show of reason that we can safely abandon the theory of Persian influence in this case.

But there are arguments in favour of the theory of Persian influence which are likely to outweigh all the arguments given above. These may be briefly stated —

(a) In Sanskrit, at no stage of the evolution of the language do we find *क्विम्* or any interrogative pronoun used as a conjunction in the sense of 'that'. This conjunctive idea is expressed in Sanskrit by *यद्—इति*, or *यथा—इति* or simply by *यम्*.

This is really a curious fact especially when a comparative study of language shows such a use of the interrogative to be not at all uncommon. As we have seen above, in French the conjunctive particle *que* and in Latin *quod* have behind them the

¹⁰ All this information as regards Latin was kindly supplied to me by Professor N. S. Tilakhar, Professor of Latin, Wilson College Bombay, and I have quoted almost verbatim from his letter to me.

interrogative idea. The Persian *ke* (که) has also the double set of an interrogative pronoun and a conjunction, the former being really the principle underlying the latter. The same psychological analysis accounts for the Gujarati કે and Marathi की if they can be derived from the Sanskrit किम्, or even if they owe their existence to the Persian *ke*. But the only drawback is that किम् in Sanskrit does not carry this double significance of an interrogative and a conjunctive. Can we then be justified in attributing to the Gujarati કે or the Marathi की the origin from the Sanskrit किम्? I doubt if we should be justified in so doing, unless it be that, although not used as conjunctive in Sanskrit itself, the word किम् was transferred into these vernaculars (as also in Bangali which also has कि = that) and pressed into their service to express the conjunctive sense. For such a theory, however, there is no warrant, as will be seen from reason (c) below.

(b) As just incidentally noted above under (a), the Persian *ke* carries both the senses, interrogative as well as conjunctive. Johnson's Persian English Dictionary tells us as under—

کے *ke* 11—who? what? which? That .

ke is much used as an explanatory particle at the beginning of a sentence in passing from the narrative^{1 2} to the very words used by the speaker as

mâlik 'abiderâ pûrsid ke awlâk 'a : at chi gunâ mî gu'arad 'A king asked a certain holy man What? "How are thy precious hours spent?" It may therefore be rendered by "saying, namely, *videlicet*" *Hayrân mandand ke ayâ chî chî ast* 'They stood astonished, saying, 'oh! what is the matter?'

11 Really pronounced as *ke*

12 It must be observed that although the question given in the quotation is put in the direct construction, the word *ke* corresponding to the English 'that' (which in English is used only with the indirect or narrative construction) is put at the beginning of the sentence thus in Persian the use of this word does not appear, as in English, to change the construction into a narrative one. The Gujarati idiom also maintains the direct construction while using કે.

* It will be interesting to note here that the author of this Dictionary analyzes the conjunctive sense in almost the same manner as I have done, seeing behind it the interrogative idea. The only apparent difference is that he calls it an explanatory particle. But, while the final grammatical position is that of a conjunction, the analysis given by him goes at the root of the idea and shows why it is that the direct construction is preserved with this particle. It may also be remarked here that we can safely take this use of *le* in Persian as equivalent to the conjunctive 'that' in as much as it is called *lâfe-mârafat* i.e. the introductory, or connecting, or intermediary *lâf* (the letter *l*)

Lastly, (c) and this is the most important consideration—an examination of the older Gujarati literature before the Mahomedan influence established itself is bound to disclose the fact that *ve* in the sense of 'that' (conjunction) is not to be found in vogue. I shall only give a few typical quotations from such literature—

(1) अह अग्र-उ यत् अस्या तनउ । ना । कि पावक इत यत् (*It is worn out here*) आत्मना एव महान् दुःसहस्र निग्रहं क्रियते ।

मह पूछइ जत ईद खीतणि । तनउ । गरीरु वइसउ पातक कीधउ । जीणइ । पावकरी । आत्मारहि इसउ दोदिउ निग्रह कीजइ अडि ।

(I from a Sanskrit translation of a Parsi Work, called *Arda Grira* or *Arda Viraf* with a translation of the same in the language current in Gujarat in those days).

I shall show in a subsequent lecture that this language of Gujarat belongs to a period shortly preceding V S 1500. The manuscript of the above work was copied in V S 1507 as is indicated by the colophon. This manuscript was shown to me by Mr. Behram Gur Anklesar at his residence at Santa Cruz in September, 1913.

The only expression in the above extract inviting our attention at present is मह पूछइ जत and the word जत (from Sanskrit यत्) the *ve* of our present day Gujarati is used for 'that here, not *ve*'

(2) उतर पुछે કે એણેક પ્રશ્ન—*Yes*

(3) ને કે પુછે કે આગરે મન સિ આપિ કે તેજ વિરેક ડિ ॥

(4) વધારે બીર છે કે આગરે મન ડિ તેની વિગત કે તેજ ડિ ૬૦૩

(૫) કે એક કે અમરે નદી કે વળિ પડિ

- (6) જે મેં દીઠું જે પ્રધ્વીના ઓરછ સગદ
 (7) જુ કો વોલે જે વરોધીઆથી વરોધ પ્રભૂત દાણ
 (8) જુ કોઈ એમ વેઢે જે રહુ તથા પાઢુ વીધુલે &c
 (9) વીજુ એ છે જે પાપના વળીર સઘલિ કામનસ્ય ॥ ૦ ॥¹³

(From a Sanskrit translation of a Parsi work called *Sianda Guman: Gajāra* with translation into old Gujarati)

Of the above instances Nos (2) to (5) are from a manuscript marked H9 by the editor it has no colophon and no date but the language of the Gujarati portion appears to belong to a period later than V S 1800 The language which in the previous centuries the Parsis appear to have faithfully accepted from the indigenous Gujarati appears here to have been more or less corrupted as is being freely done in the present times to a larger extent than this Instances Nos (6) to (9) are from a manuscript marked K10 which preserves the language in a purer state but appears to belong to a period subsequent to V S 1750

Note -Only in one place I find વે instead of જે in this latter manuscript જુ કોઈ એમ વોલિ કે etc But from the fact that જ is used in numerous instances in this very manuscript, I am inclined to look upon this single instance of વે with distrust as an error of the scribe or some one else)

A Parsi Gujarati paper entitled *જગત મિતર (Jagat Mita)* contains the following significant phrases —

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| (1) વહેવા ડાગો જે (P 257) | | (3) હોવમ વીધો જે (P 48) |
| (2) વહીવજ જે (P 293) | | (4) દેહુ ધારેઆમા આવજ (P 5)
etc |

This belongs to A D 1859 and throws valuable light on this point

Let us turn to Hindu Gujarati in the old literature in search of this વે It must be remembered that this Gujarati literature conjunction (વે) will be difficult to find in poetry and we must therefore look into the

¹³ See pp 82 74, 75 76 78 of the Edition of the book named above, by Ervad Sheriarji D Bharucha published by the Trustees of the Parsi Panch yet

prose literature. This increases our difficulty, as the old literature abounds in poetry, not in prose which is generally rare. In poetry the poet will find it more graceful and consistent with the brevity of poetic diction to omit such conjunctive particles. Thus for instance, the poet prefers to say

કોણ વહે વાનઢો વૂહો
વહેવુ ચોલ ન વાઢ. 11

rather than કોણ વહે વે or કોણ વહે જે વહાનઢો વૂહો. For this reason I sought for instances in Parsi literature, furnishing as it does, independent evidence there being no possibility for that literature to be affected by any special school like the Jain school of old Gujarati literature. Besides that literature in the 15th and 16th centuries of the Vikrama era has closely followed the Hindu style of language and not taken liberties with the language such as are to be found in the Parsi literature of later periods. This enhances the value of the evidence furnished by the instances given above.

But we are not without our reward in a search into the Hindu Gujarati prose of the early times. A few passages are given below —

(10) તેદ મળી દેવતા આરાધી વાસા વામી મ્વર્ણધાઢ મરી જુમ્મ વાઢ !
જે વે મમ્મનઢ જીવદ તે થાઢ સોનેદ મરિઢ ઢિઢ

(From Meru Sundara's પુષ્પમાઢ પ્રવરણ, date of copy V S 1529, quoted in the Introduction to *Narmada* P ૫)

Here we have to notice the negative fact that after મળી and the sentence that follows no conjunction is put. This was the practice in the old literature evidently —

તેને વિતાવે વહુ () તારો સ્વયંદર કરિયે ના વિતાદુ તો દેગમી વર
દુઢુદુ રાજા વેહે () આવળ મહુવને પેર દેડ વરસા વેમ આંડે વ મનોરથ તે મિથ્યા
પરસો વન્યા વેહે () ણટલો પોણ () જેણે વનવપુરી જોઈ દોણ તને દુવ
રાજા વેહે () તેની માલ વેમ જણાવે વન્યા વેહે () પુરમા વાઢ વેરવો

(Passage quoted as belonging to the 19th century of the Vikrama era by Narmadasankar, નર્મદીશ Introduction P ૬)

11. Lavānkar, a Nigar of Junāgadh who died about 1837 A D

The gaps marked by me in this passage with brackets would in our days have been filled up by so many *કે*s

Note —the *કે* in *જે કે મહનડ્ જીપડ* is not the conjunction we are looking for. It is either due to a mislection for *જે વો* or the *કે* is a pronoun similar to *વો* (= *વોડ*).

(11) તેની ટોલ કરીને લોને શીલ્લયું તુ જડીને વેહેની જે વનવપુરીમ જોઈંછે

(From *નર્મકોશ*, the same passage as above belonging to the 19th century)

(12) એ મનોહરાનામા ગોપીજન છે તેહેને મદિર વોઈ એક છીને ત્યા રાત્ય રમીને પ્રભુ પધારયા તે અન્ય છી સવન્પના ચિન્હ જોઈને—તે છી વહેછે જે હે નાપ વર . જે ધીજી લેની પલયા જે સગ્ગયા—&c

(From a 19th century passage cited in the *નર્મકોશ*, introduction, P ૪)

In an extract from Dayaram's prose commentary in his *Sat Dajârâm's prose-shewing an admixture of કે and જે* *Saigâ*, given by Mr Krishnalal M Javeri in his *Milestones in Gujarati Literature* (P 252), we find *કે* used as a conjunction instead of *જે* —

‘તે પોતાની સડી પ્રત્યે પોતાના બેહતાપતુ દુઃખ વહે છે કે અલી મારા ચિરહની વ્યથા—etc”

Now the passage No (12) quoted above is also from Dayaram's commentary on his *Sat Saigâ* (stanza 180 there of¹⁵) It may seem difficult to explain the apparent inconsistency of the use of *જે* in that passage and of *કે* in this other one. If *કે* is not an error in the passage cited by Mr Krishnalal Javeri the natural inference seems to be that the conjunction *જે* was beginning to disappear when the 19th century was well advanced (Dayaram's period being V S 1823, birth to 1908 death) and that *જે* and *કે* were jostling each other the final result being in favour of *કે*. It may also be noted that in the early part of the present century even during the supremacy of *કે* the older conjunctive *જે* held sway in certain circles where the influence of Persian did not

15 પોરન વર વલકાન કિય બલિક સોઈ કિત રાગ ।

વેણ પગિ વજ વીક નિક સાચિ કહો કલ્ય પ્રાગ ॥ (સતસેવા ૧૮૦)

reach or was actively resisted in consequence of quasi-religious scruples. Thus we find in the *वचनामृत*, which was evidently written some time after the death of Sahajānand Swāmi which occurred in V. S. 1886, we find *जे* used invariably: e. g. (1) *पठे मुक्तानन्द स्वामीये प्रभ पुण्यं जे कामकोष &c.*

(2) *पठे श्रीजिमदाराज बोल्या जे हूं देह नहि etc*, and so forth.

We need not speak speculatively regarding the *सत्सैया* of Dayārām. A cursory glance at the *टीका* thereof shows *जे* freely used and *के* also fairly freely but less frequently.¹⁶ In some places (e. g. in the *टीका* on stanzas 97, 21, 58, 575, 645, 651) *के* is used more in correlation with *ए*, or *एम* or *हेतुं*, than as a pure conjunction; similarly *जे* is used in such correlation (See *टीका* on Stanza 159); e. g.

प्रेमतुं *बळ* हेतुं अतुल्य छे *के*;
ते एम कहे छे *के*;
हेतुं निभे न मळे *के*;
एम कहे छे *जे*.

However, such correlation is implied even when apparently absolute use of the conjunction is made. राजा बोल्या *के* being really गुजा एम बोल्या *के*.

I must, however, point out that in the case of the extract given by Mr. Krishnalal Javeri the extract (*टीका* on stanza 245) from the 1th edition of the poems of Dayārām published by the "Gujarati Press" has *जे*, whereas *के* is found in the 3rd edition. The abundant use of *जे* as well as *के* in this *टीका* gives us sufficient guarantee against any serious doubts regarding the synchronous

¹⁶ *जे* is found in the *टीका* on stanzas 17, 27, 30, 73, 78, 83, 87, 88, 90, 96, 99 (two places), 100, 106, 144, 152, 153 (two places), 154, 157, 158, 172, 176, 182 (two places), 229, 232, 242, 245, 276, 284, 287, 293, 534, 545.

के is found in the *टीका* on Stanzas 87, 97, 108, 171 (at three places in one sentence), 182, 224, 227, 230, 322, 584 (two places), 587, 721 (two places).

These are picked up at random and do not exhaust the list.

use of જે and કે in Dayārām's time. It must be noted, however, that the ટીકા ostensibly bears the name of Ranchhod (according to a note by Kavi Narmadāsankar—See P. 277 of the 4th Edition), and of Vallabhadas according to the text as given at P. 448 of the 4th edition; whereas since Kavi Narmadāsankar's time the belief is held that Dayārām himself wrote the ટીકા. But this dubious state does not affect the main issue, for the ટીકા belongs to the time of Dayārām in any case.

We have thus enough evidence to conclude that the conjunction કે was not in use in old Gujarāṭi literature; Conclusion કે not found in old Gujarāṭi, unaffected by Persian influence, જે being the older term; કે brought in by Mahomedan contact, it was represented either by a blank hiatus as in sentences like વન્યા કેહે () પુરમાં પાટ ફેરવો, or by the word જે, the Gujarāṭi descendent of the Sanskrit यन्, which in Sanskrit served as a conjunctive like 'that'. This use of જે still survives in stray idioms confined to the language peculiar to ladies, who have out-lived modern linguistic changes; thus in મહું જે (= મહું જાણું જે) we find this old જે; and in શું છે જે? we have the same conjunctive જે, the sentence being left incomplete idiomatically, the unsaid portion being understood to represent some such ideas as (શું છે જે) મારા ભાઈને ધમકાવોછો? or the like.

All this inquiry brings us to the following conclusions:—

- (1) That the Gujarāṭi conjunction કે did not flourish in the literature unaffected by Persian influence;
- and (2) That it can be derived from the Sanskrit यिम्, but in as much as यिम् was never used as a conjunction in the Sanskrit language, and the surest test is that supplied by actual use in a language, જે was the older conjunction, and કે was brought in by the contact with Mahomedans and the influence of the Persian language.

It may be that the Persian કે itself was allied to or even derived from the Sanskrit यिम्, but it was necessarily in the interrogative sense only, the conjunctive use, unknown in Sanskrit,

was entirely a new feature, and therefore in that new aspect could only have come from Persian.¹⁷

Let us look at some other vernaculars. Bangālī has कि, meaning 'that' as well as 'what'. But even now it uses जे also. In a story called 'Tyāga' written by Mr. Nagendra Nāth Sarkar which appeared in the magazine, *Pravāsi*, of Kārtika 1322 (Bangālī Samvat), at P. 76 we find the following — कळ हळ ए ये (=जे) &c. (कळ थयुं ए जे &c.) (This जे here is, however, not quite an absolute conjunction, but a correlative pronoun answering to the foregone ए).

Sindhi has त as well as जे, of which the former may have come from Sanskrit तत्=that (demonstrative), the demonstrative sense of 'that' is at the root of the conjunctive sense in English.

In Marāṭhi the conjunction की is not found in the older literature. In *ज्ञानेश्वरी*, the oldest classical Marāṭhi work, जे is invariably used and की not at all. Ekanāth and Śrīdhara began to use both जे and की and these both seem to have begun to be used commonly in Śivāji's times. Later on जे disappeared. Moropant rarely uses it. At present जे is used only by Purānīs and old-fashioned persons.¹⁸

17 This kind of vicarious inflow of words is not unusual. Take the word सवार (=a horseman). It can be, and is by some, derived from the Sanskrit अश्वारः through its possible Prākṛit form असवारो (further stage असवरो, and, the unaccented first syllable being dropped, सवार). But there is hardly any doubt that सवार has come into Gujarāt direct from Persian even though the Persian language may have been indebted to Sanskrit for that word, in as much as असवार is another form of the word in Persian. The only difficulty is that सवार in Persian, as also in Gujarāt, signifies any rider,—horse-rider, camel rider (دورسवार, Persian), etc. However, this can be got over by the possibility of the primary sense (horse-rider) having given place to the secondary sense of "a rider" generally.

18 I am indebted to Rao Bahadur V. M. Mahajan, through Mr. D. G. Padihye, for this valuable information.

I may here hazard a conjecture that this influence of Persian came in all probability through the Marathi during the Maratha rule in Gujarat. The diary of Savai Madhavrao Peshwa abounds in *की* as a conjunction e. g.

के importel from the Persian ke but through an impetus given by the Marathi की itself a result of Persian influence

(1) वेदरजी जिंदे व महादजी जिंदे याचे नावे सनदकीं &c
(A D 1762-63)

(2) देशमुख व देशपांडे नादगौडा परगणे हरिहर याच नावे चौल कीं &c
(A D 1764-66)

(3) येविशीं मोरदम हरदू गावच यास कीं &c

(It is well known that a large number of Persian words, especially in connection with the correspondence and writings of administration flowed freely into the language of the wielders of Maratha power. Why the most common word *आणी* (= and) has given place to *व* in all official correspondence. The words *हरदू* (the said two each of the two) in instance (3) are strongly Persian as will be observed at once)

(In instance (3) the blank between *यास* and *कीं* shows an interesting idiom where the word signifying 'an order, 'a command, a request' or the like is omitted probably, in the origin for the sake of official convenience and brevity thus leaving *कीं* without the preceding main link)

The Maratha rule established itself in Gujarat with the capture of Baroda in 1781 A D (V S 1790), and we find the conjunction *जे* still supreme in the early part of the 19th century V S. This is quite natural for it would require some 3 or 4 decades of political rule to impress linguistic features on a country.

However the word adopted by Gujarati is *व* (direct as it were from the Persian *و*) and not *कीं*. Could it be then that the impetus came from Marathi and the word actually adopted was taken direct from Persian? I leave the guess in this state of uncertainty.

We have dwelt rather at great length on this part of our inquiry. Accepting then the importance of the influence of

historical conditions, we may take a hurried survey of the history of Gujarati so far as it was calculated to influence the Gujarati language and literature. This, however, and the remaining portions of the theme proposed at the outset in this lecture must now be held over for my next lecture.

NOTES

(a) Pp. 6 and 7 and note

पाद, as a division of a treatise (पद्यपाद), has always been used to denote one of four divisions. A bold departure from if not an unwarranted outrage on, this rational tradition is found in Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛita-Sarvasva* which he divides into twenty *pādas*. We have not yet met with a work with a hundred *pādas*, claiming possible justification in the analogy of a centipede!

(b) Pp. 8 and 11

A notable feature in the way of historical influence is to be found in the wide sound of ए and ओ peculiar to Gujarati and Miraboli especially, and modified in Marathi and Hindi, (as in वर (enmity) मल्ल (mala+see), and the like). This sound, originating in the post Apabhramśa formations containing अव and अव, can be regarded as accelerated by the influence of Persian and Arabic (from words like गदर-गि (Guj) as in गद्दाजगी, and कदर-कमि (Guj) = an agreement). This feature will place a reservation on the general remark that Indian vernaculars maintained their *genus* unaffected by Persian and Arabic. (See Lecture II *infra* for an indication of this aspect). For a detailed discussion of this question see Lecture IV *infra*.

LECTURE II.

*Historical and other Forces working on Language.**A Survey of the History of Gujarat.*

As promised at the conclusion of the last lecture, I begin with a brief survey of the History of Gujarât, so far as it was calculated to influence the language and literature of the country. Valuable information will be found in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol I part 1, which deals with the History of Gujarat. I cull salient points from it useful for the purpose of our inquiry. Leaving the very ancient Yadava period I start with the Mauryan

and Greek rule. The supremacy of the Maurya
The Mauryas and the Greeks Chandragupta extended over Gujarat, and this Maurya rule lasted up to the end of the reign

of Samprati. This covers a period of about a century and a quarter from 319 to 197 B C. It need not be pointed out that Pali appears to have been a wide spread language during this period. The Mauryas were followed by the Bactrian Greeks B C 180 to 100 of whom Menander (Milinda) is a well known and familiar name. The coins of these rulers were in Bactro-Pali.

The Kshatrapas appear on the scene then, and
The Kshatrapas their sway covers the period from 70 B C to 398 A D. The Kshatrapas were foreigners no doubt, they belonged to the Śaka race—but they very soon became converts to one or other form of the Hindu religion and assumed Indian names. Their coins are in Bactro Pali language.

An interesting incidental feature noticed in the history of the Kshatrapas may be noted here. Rudradaman
The Yaudheyas the fourth western Kshatrapa who flourished from A D 143 to 158, is stated in a Girnar rock inscription to have exterminated the tribe of Yaudheyas. These Yaudheyas, says the writer in the Gazetteer, appear to have had a democratic constitution like the Malavas. He claims for

have had an antiquity of nearly ten¹ centuries, when we find many a Rajput clan still in existence leaving a number of centuries behind them, for example, the Gohils, and Parmars and Chohāns and the like. The only difference is and it is a striking difference—that while these Yaudheyas are spoken of as members of a compact organic tribe, the present day Rajputs are but diffuse and scattered links of the old chains. Another consideration may also go to support the probability of a tribal organism lasting for centuries together. Panini mentions in the same *Sūtra* as the one wherein he speaks of the Yaudheyas, another clan named *Parśu*. Now according to the view of some scholars² the word पश्य in पश्यपश्य in *Rigveda* VII 83, represents a tribe, Persians most probably. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Panini mentions the *Parśus* as a tribe. Now, if the *Parśus* existed during the long centuries between the *Rigveda* and Panini, there is nothing against the Yaudheyas having lasted for over ten centuries. That the Yaudheyas were a compact clan ever since Panini's time (and probably before him) is seen from the *Sūtra* referred to above which runs thus—पश्नादि यौधेयादिभ्योऽणञौ। i. e. the *taddhita* termination अण् is applied to the words in the list headed by पश्य and भण् to those in the list headed by यौधेय, an additional condition being that they should be आपुधर्जासिद्ध्याचीः i. e. the words should indicate persons who form a gregarious clan (सङ्घ) living by their weapons (i. e. by fighting), this condition being imported from a previous *Sūtra* by force of the convention known as *anuvṛtti*. I note this episode in Rudradaman's reign only to mark the clan like and democratic institution as capable of leaving its marks faint

1 Panini is placed by Sir R. G. Bhaskar in the 8th Century B. C. (Wilson Philological Lectures P. 301) and Rudradaman is said to have flourished in the 2nd century A. D. I allow the Yaudheyas to have lived before Panini as their fame in his days would demand it, but I compute an interval of ten centuries.

2 See *Indu* and *Pārtha* in *Ved. Index*. It is well that Ludwig and Weber agree in interpreting पश्य as the Persians and पश्य as the Parthians. Zimmer differs from them but there are good reasons in support of Ludwig's interpretation.

or extinct though they may become in later centuries, on the life, and through it on the language, of the people.

It may be remarked also that, besides the Málavas and the Yaudheyas mentioned in the Gazetteer, there were a number of such clans as is indicated by the *ganas* or lists headed by पर्य, यौधेय and, as stated in a preceding *Sūtra* by दामनि These were forty-three³ in number altogether Of these all but the Málavas and Yaudheyas seem to have outlived the long period between Pāṇini and Rudradaman Another noteworthy fact is that, at least according to Panini the Málavyas and Kshaudrakyas were non-Brahmins and non Kshatriyas and the Yaudheyas and others would appear to be Kshatriyas probably for the proviso अत्राद्यण राजन्यत्, which applies to the *Sūtra* which has माड्य and क्षौद्र्य for its instances, is not importable as an *anuvṛtti* into the *Sūtras* about the Yaudheyas and others All that we can infer from this is that in Panini's time the Yaudheyas and others were classified under Kshatriyas even if they may have been originally of foreign extraction, or we may fairly say that, though foreigners, they were regarded as Kshatriyas, i e they were foreign Kshatriyas

[The Bombay Gazetteer (Pp 137-8) derives the Rajput clan name जाडेजा from यौधेया, but obviously the derivation is not satisfactory the Yaudheyas were as old as Panini whereas the Jadejas were later arrivals and foreigners]

3 This total includes माड्य and क्षौद्र्य mentioned as such clans belonging to the frontier near the Punjab, mentioned in Pāṇini V, iii, 114

1 I do not forget that Bhattoji Dikshita's interpretation of this phrase would not support the view put forward by me, for according to him ब्राह्मण is to be taken to express ब्राह्मण विशेष, but राज्य should be taken in its स्वर्प i e the word itself, and not the sense of *ksatriya* But especially as the सादृश्य, i e usual association, of *Brahmana* and *Rajya* would point to क्षत्र्य meaning *ksatriya* in general it is open to hold that Pāṇini himself may have used the expression in the sense I suggest unless the Mahābhāṣya or earlier evidence can support Bhattoji Dikshita's interpretation, and show it to be a traditional interpretation The Mahābhāṣya does not seem to touch this *Sūtra*, and can therefore throw no light

* We now cast a glance at the *Trailítalas* who were probably
The Trailítalas a branch of the *Abhíra* kings of the *Parinas*
 They rose to power about 250 A D, about the
 time of the middle *Kshatrapas* and after the decline of the
Kshatrapas which began in 300 A D The disruption of their empire
 was probably the work of The *Trailítas* who were their old neigh-
 bours and foes Under the name of *Haihayas* the *Trailítalas*
 rose to supremacy about A D 456 established a branch at the
 city of *Trilúta* (most probably modern *Jannar* in the *Poona*
 district) and ruled over the *Bombay Dakhan* and *South Gujarat*,
 during the period between 410 A D (the fall of the *Kshatrapas*)
 and A D 500 (the rise of the *Chalukyas*).

This, however, affected *South Gujarat* For about the same
 period (410 A D to 470 A D) the main portion of *Gujarat*
Kathiawála and *Kachchha* came under the sway of the *Guptas*
Chandra Gupta II of this *Gupta* dynasty (389-415 A D) con-
 quered *Gujarat* in 410 A D, *Kumara Gupta* (416-453 A D)
 ruled over *Gujarat* and *Kathiawála* and *Skanda Gupta* (454 to
 470 A D), added *Kachchha* to the two in his sway

This *Gupta* power was overthrown by *Toramana* and his son
The White Huns *Mihirakula* (A D 512 accession to the throne)
 who though themselves not *White Huns* but
 of the tribe called *Yuan-Yuan* in Chinese records, appear to have
 joined the *White Huns* in the invasion of *India*. The power of
 the *White Huns* was crushed between the combined attacks of the
Persians and *Turks*

The actual successors to the *Gupta* rule in *Gujarat* and
The Valabhis *Kathiawála* were the *Valabhi* kings (550 to 750
 A D) the name being given from the name of
 their capital *Valabhi* The copper-plate grants of the *Valabhis*
 are written in *Sanskrit* though that could certainly not have been
 the language of the land The names of administrative officers
 mentioned in these grants e.g. *आयुक्त, निरुक्त, महार* et cetera and

the words for territorial divisions, e. g. विषय, आहार, पथक, स्थली *et cetera*, attract our interest and attention.⁵

The first Valabhi ruler was Bhaṭārka; his tribe is not definitely known. The writer in the Gazetteer conjectures he was a Gurjara but this is really uncertain, and the reasons on which the conjecture is based are not strong. But there could hardly be any doubt that he was a foreigner.

Valabhi power fell at the hands of the Arab lord of Mansura⁶ (the capital of Sindh) some time between 750 and 770 A. D.

During the period between 666 and 740 A. D. the Southern

*The Broach
Gurjaras*

Chālukyas held sway over South Gujarāt. We find that at this time there was a small Gurjar kingdom at Broach, the first known king being

Dadda I. This kingship was not independent, but that of a feudatory, probably under the Valabhi dynasty in the beginning and latterly under the Southern Chālukyas. The territorial extent of this Gurjar kingdom was between the Mahi and Narmadā rivers; though at times their power extended north up to Khedā and south up to the Tāpi river. References to Gurjaras in Rāshṭrakūṭa times apply not to these Broach Gurjaras, but to the Bhīnmāl Gurjaras, or, as Mr. Devadatta Bhāndārkar holds (with good reasons), to the Gurjaras of Mahodaya, which was another name for Kanauj. The Broach Gurjaras, about the time of Dadda III (675-700 A. D.), ceased to call themselves Gurjaras. I shall leave the Gurjaras here for a separate and fuller treatment further on, and simply remark that the Broach Gurjara dynasty was destroyed either by the Arabs or by the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas, or, as the late A. M. T. Jackson held, they probably submitted to the Chālukyas.

5. आसुक्त and नियुक्त, meaning 'appointed,' were apparently names of superior officials. महत्तर (or senior) the headman of a village. (cf वडेरो used at present in Sindh) विषय—the largest territorial division, corresponding to the modern Division (as of a Commissioner). आहार—a collectorate, a District पथक a sub division, स्थली a petty division.

6. Old Brāhmanābād, or, according to some writers, a town two *parangs* i. e. 16 miles from the site of Brāhmanābād. (Elliot's History of India, as told by its own historians, Vol I, P. 122).

The Rāshtrakūta connection with Gujarat is divisible into *The Rāshtrakūtas*, three periods —

- (1) The first period of 63 years from A D 743 to 801, during which the ruler of Gujarat was dependent on the main Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas,
- (2) The second period, of 80 years, from A D 803 to 883, when the Gujarat family was on the whole independent and
- (3) The third period of 86 years from A D 888 to 974, when the Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas again exercised direct sway over Gujarat

The origin of the Rāshtrakūtas has been the subject of several theories, and the question of the northern and southern Rāshtrakūtas being identical, mutually connected, or quite distinct is subjected to learned examination by different antiquarian scholars, we need not go into all that here but the result of all the inquiries amounts to this that the Rāshtrakūtas were either non Aryan Southerners or foreigners subsequently Brahmanized and included under the all embracing term Rajput. Of their copper-plate grants the points useful for us to note are that the earliest Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta grant bears the date Śaka 669 (A D 747), and that it is in the Valabhi style of composition and form of letters.

Reference has been incidentally made in the foregoing portion to the overthrow of the Gupta power by Toramāna and his son, Mihirakula. The Maitrakas of the Valabhi copper-plates appear to have come with these two warriors and the Maitrakas are identified with White Huns. These Maitrakas are again identified with the Mihiras, the Mihra or Mera, who still survive in the latter names in Kāthiāwār. These White Huns were at one time under Persian influence which affected their proper names and gave them the worship of the sun and this worship of the sun in the peculiar form was introduced into India after their advent. Their period is marked from 470 to 600 A. D.

After the fall of Valabhī no reliable record remains of any
The Chāvadās. dynasty ruling over the greater part of Gujarāt.

Most trustworthy and historical information is that with regard to the Chāvadīs of Anahilapur. Even about them, so far as their earlier period is concerned, nothing is available but scant references by Jain authors in their history of the Solankis (Chaulukyas) and Vāghelās. The period of Chāvadī power extends from 720 to 956 A. D. It began with the small Chāvadī Chieftainship at Panchāsar (in Vadhnār) between Gujarāt and Kachchha. Its growth dates with the ascension of Vanarāja who founded Anahilapura.⁷

Who were these Chāvadās ethnically? It is stated in the Gazetteer⁸ that they were Gurjaras. But this theory rests on rather meagre evidence; whereas there are strong reasons to show that the Chāvadīs were different from the Gurjaras. The writer in the Gazetteer bases his theory on the fact of a very indirect reference—which needs verification—to Brahmagupta, the astronomer, having written in A. D. 628 his *Siddhānta* at Bhīnmāl under king Vyāghramukha, who, he states, belonged to the Chāpa dynasty. This is not necessarily conclusive evidence of the Chāpas, i. e. Chāvadās, being Gurjaras, for the writer in the Gazetteer simply conjectures that this Vyāghramukha was the same as the Gurjara king whom Pulakeśi II subdued. Another ground on which the theory is based seems to be that the Chāvadas of Anahilvāda were feudatories under the Bhīnmāl Gurjaras. This, again, is equally inconclusive, nay, it may be argued that if they were feudatories they would not be of the same race as their overlords. On the other hand, Mr. Devadatta R. Bhīndārkar, in his paper on the

7 The story of the choice of the site of this city viz. that Vanarāja was shown by a Bharvīl (a shepherd) a place where a hunted hare had attacked the hunting dog, thus showing that the land possessed the power of breeding men of special strength and courage, is a legend which is related in the case of other towns also, e. g. Ahmedabad, and also the ancient city of Vijayanagara in the Kanarese Deccan in the 14th century A. D., are also connected with similar legends.

8 Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I. part I p. 467

Gurjaras,⁹ has shown valid reasons to prove that the Châvādās were distinct from the Gurjaras. He relies on the grant of the Chalukya prince, Pulakeśi Janāśraya (738-9 A. D.) which mentions Châvotakas and Gurjaras among the peoples whose countries were invaded by the Tājika army. The kingdoms of the Châvādās and the Gurjaras are thus distinguished from each other.¹⁰ I need not dwell upon other reasons for Mr. Devadatta Bh'indārkar's view. But we have sufficient reasons to hold now that the Châvādās cannot be identified with the Gurjaras as yet.

The Châvādās were followed immediately by the Chaulukyas or Solankis (A. D. 964-1212). They figure largely in the history of Gujarātī literature, in consequence of their connection with and patronage of Jainism and Jaina scholars, who enriched the vernacular literature of their days and were the fore-runners of many Jain scholars who continued the literary efforts of these fore-runners, writing works in the vernacular languages of their time till it grew into the shape of modern Gujarātī. The names of Siddharāja and Kumārāpāla need only be mentioned and the picture rises before us of two great patrons of learning and

The Chaulukyas or Solankis; they were of Gurjara extraction.

9. See J. B. B. R. A. S. XXI, Pp. 412 ff (A. D. 1902)

10. The late A. M. T. Jackson also held this same view on the strength, amongst other reasons, of this very Chalukya grant (Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, Part I, pp. 465-6). And yet at p. 467 he states that the later Châvādās were of Gurjara origin. He bases this view on the reference to Vyāgramukha noted just above. But that was in A. D. 628 and the Pulakeśi grant is dated 738-9 A. D. How could the former reference then pertain to the later Châvādās? Again at p. 155 of the same Gazetteer at the end of the chapter on "The Châvādās" there is a special Note by A. M. T. Jackson in which he distinctly states the view that the Châvādās were of Gurjara race.

At p. 5 (footnote) of the Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, part I we find it stated that in certain inscriptions both the Châvādās and the Solankis are called Gurjara kings, and the following remark made — "The Gurjara origin of either or both of these dynasties may be questioned — calling that the name 'Gurjara king' may imply no more than that they ruled the Gurjara country."

literature, with them at once rises the name and figure of Hemachandra whose massive learning and literary energy and output single him out as a grand figure in the history of literature. His writings were in Sanskrit—the written language of scholars,—as well as in *Apabhramśa* in which he wrote copiously. We shall go into the question of the language of the country in his times, later on. Just now we are concerned principally with the ethnologic position of the Chaulukyas. Who were they? The Bombay Gazetteer is unable to enlighten us on this point. It says: "No materials are available to trace the original seat of the family^o or to show when and whence they came to Gujarât."¹¹ It simply tells us that the Dakhan and Gujarat dynasties (of the Chaulukyas) were branches of the same stock.¹¹ It however adds a remark which gives us a starting point in our inquiry. It says "The balance of probability is as Dr. Buhler holds, that Mularâja's ancestors came from the North." Yes, Dr Buhler has, in an able article,¹² shown that the first Chaulukya king, Mularâja, was the son of a king who ruled in Kânyakubja (Kanauj) and who reconquered Gujarât which had been an old dependency of his paternal empire. He shows why the identification of Kalyânakataka (the capital of the Kanauj rulers) with the capital of the Dakhan Chalukyas by Forbes, Elphinstone and others was erroneous. This view of Dr Buhler's has received powerful support from Mr. Devadatta R. Bhândarkar's paper on the Gurjaras wherein he has gone a step further than Dr Buhler and identified Kalyânakatala with Kanauj itself. He has further shown in the paper that Kanauj was then the seat of a powerful Gurjara kingdom and that the Châlukyas were of Gurjara extraction.

Here we may linger a little over the Gurjaras and note what

The Gurjaras, Gujarât, the name and how it was acquired?

we know of them, for they it was that gave the name to the province now known as Gujarât and the name of the province gave the name Gujarâti, to its language in course of time.

11. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Part I, p. 156

12. The Indian Antiquary, VI 180 ff.

Before we speak of the Gurjaras however let us see when it was that the country got its name Gujarât Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India¹³ states that it was under the Châvaddas that Gujarât got its name He makes this statement on the authority of the Bombay Gazetteer Vol I Part I p 5 note But we find no authority for such a statement as that made in the Gazetteer There are no Châvada inscriptions yet come to light nor are any known references to them useful in this point Another little error regarding the name Gujarât needs correction The Bombay Gazetteer (p 2) derives the name from *Gurjara-ratta* (Prâkrit) and *Gurjara râshtra* (Sanskrit) This is obviously incorrect and most probably based on the false analogy furnished by the names *Surâshtra* and *Mahârâshtra* Another erroneous derivation we find given by the same Gazetteer (p 85) is *Gurjara râtra* These names *Gurjara râshtra* and *Gurjara râtra* (the latter being quite fanciful and bearing no meaning), are not to be found in any works or inscriptions On the other hand as Vrajâlâl Śâstri¹⁴ and Mr Devadatta R Bhândârkar¹⁵ have pointed out, the name *Gurjaratrâ* is mentioned in several old works and inscriptions, as the name of a *Mandala* i e a province (it was also known as *Gurjara mandala* or *Gurjara dēśa*) The word *Gurjaratrâ* will yield the form *Gujarât* quite consistently with phonetic rules *Gurjara râshtrâ* would give the form *Gujarârâsh* on the other hand, and we hear many Marathi Brahmanas persistently calling Gujarat by the wrong name *Gujarâtha* and Gujaratis are *Gujarâthis* with them simply because they are familiar with the names Marathi and Marathi Another little index to the correctness of *Gurjaratra* as the derivation of the name is furnished by the preservation of the feminine gender of the original *Gurjaratra* in expressions like *मादी गुजरात* (*mad Gujarat*), and the same gender being found in works as old as the *Kanhadade-Praband*¹⁶ of Padma nâbha (written in V S 1512)

13 Vol IX, Part II, P 323

14 *Gujarâti Bhâṣâkânô Itihâsa* P 69

15 'Gujaratas' J B B R A S XXI Pp 413 ff (A D 1902)

पूछा बात पातसाह इसी
गुजराति ते कही किस्ती

(Khanda I stanza 21)

Mr Deradatta R Bhandarkar tells us in his paper on the Gurjaras that this name of Gujarat was originally confined to a province in Rajputana; that it gradually expanded into a powerful and extensive kingdom with Kanauj as its capital that Mahipala of the Mahodaya dynasty (mentioned in a grant and an inscription of 914 and 917 A D respectively) was a Gurjara king ruling over this territory that his sway extended over Kathiavad at one time (though he had not yet penetrated into Gujarat) that even before Mahipala's time Gurjara kingdoms were spoken of and they ruled over Rajputana and a powerful Gurjara kingdom existed in Yuan Chuang's time with Bhillamal or Bhinnmal as the capital that the Gurjaras first entered India in the beginning of the sixth century A D their race being Scythian in origin and that the Gurjaras first came into the present day Gujarat and it acquired its name of Gurjaratra (originally the name of the territory in Rajputana) after the Chaulukyas came into power in Gujarat in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era, the original name of Gujarat being Lata which was still the name of Southern Gujarat in the time of the Chaulukyas for some time Mr Devadatta Bhandarkar has come to the above conclusions after an elaborate and many sided inquiry ¹⁶ Amongst a number of arguments too numerous to reproduce, one is specially interesting It is with regard to the references by Abu Zaid (916 A D) and Al Masudi (A D 948) to the king of Juzr and to Kanauj as a large country forming the empire of Juzr, these references being quoted from the Bombay Gazetteer Vol I Pt I (pp 526-7 and 519).

16 It may be noted here that Mr D R Bhandarkar has retracted his doubt (expressed in his paper on the Gurjaras) regarding the identification of Yuan Chuang's Pi lo mo lo with Bhinnmal and accepted A M T Jackson's identification (see his article on the Late Mr A M T Jackson in the *Indian Antiquary* Jan 1911)

This name Juzr has been rightly identified by every one with Gujar. What has not been accounted for in this connection till now, so far as I know, is the little phonetic element in the word itself, viz. the 'j' instead of 'g'. This can be explained by the fact that the Yaman Arabs at the present day pronounce their letter *jim* as *gim* (गीम), and all words having it are pronounced with ग and not ज, the Egyptian and other Arabs pronounce it as j (ज)¹⁷. It is, therefore, not at all unlikely that the *jim* was pronounced as g (ग) by the Arab writers noted above and they naturally wrote the name *Guzr* with a *jim* which was transliterated as Juzr under a misapprehension. The two sounds of "G" in English are well known, ज and ग as in *gin* and *gun*¹⁸.

Mr. Deradatta R. Bhândarkar tells us that his paper on the Gurjaras is a sort of supplement to A. M. T. Jackson's able and valuable paper on the Gurjaras which forms the history portion of "Bhīṃśāl" in Appendix III of the *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. I, Part I. It would therefore be useful to note here a summary of the conclusions arrived at in that portion. They are —

(a) That the Gurjaras entered India in the fifth century A. D.

17. I owe this information to a friend of mine in the Indian Medical Service who has lived among the Arabs and observed this

18 The broad conditions governing this variation in the sound of G in English are given in Murray's Dictionary. They may be briefly stated as under —

G has the so-called hard sound (ग)

(1) at the end of a word

(2) before a consonant or a, o, u, (except in *gasl gasler*), and

(3) in words of Teutonic etymology, before e and i, as in *gire* and *get*, also (4) in Hebrew proper names, as *Gedaliah*, *Gideon* (This Hebrew tendency may show an affinity with the Yaman Arab sound of *jim* as *gim*.)

In words from Latin or Latin or Romanic G has the 'soft sound' before e, i, y, and at the end of a syllable in words of whatever origin the sound (ज) is represented always by *dge*, or *ge*, the letter J not being used in this position

(See G in the "New English Dictionary" by James A. H. Murray, L.L.D., and Henry Bradley, B.A.).

- (b) That towards the end of the sixth century (585 A D) they conquered modern Gujarât and Broach and forced the Valabhis (A. D 509 766) to acknowledge their supremacy,
- (c) That Bhinmal (Śrīmāl) was long the capital of the main branch of the northern race of Gurjaras,
- (d) That the Gurjaras did not long retain their southern conquests in Huen Tsang's time both Kaira and Vadanagar (Ānandapur) belonged to Malava, while the Broach Chiefs probably submitted to the Chalukyas,
- (e) That the Gurjaras had (after meeting the Arab raids) to face a new enemy—the Rashtrakūtas—who after supplanting the Chalukyas in the Dakhan turned their attention northwards,
- (f) That Bhinmal was abandoned as a capital in about A D 953 during Bhīma Sena's reign when 18000 Gurjaras migrated from Bhinmal,¹⁹
- (g) That an important result of this abandonment was the transfer

19 The '*Kāṇhadade Prabandha* of Padmanābha shows that Bhinnamāla was a flourishing settlement of Śrīmālī Brāhmanas under Chahuāna^a away about the year A D 1311. The epic was composed in V S 1512, i e as the poet also informs us at the conclusion (*Kīand* IV, st 337 and 338), 145 years after the fall of Jālor and that (*Khanda* III st 22 ff) Bhinnamāla was plundered and set on fire by the Mussalman army of Allā ud dīn Khiljī in the course of the campaign against Jālor. Thus the sack of Bhinnamāla would fall in the year 1367 V S i e 1311 A D (V S 1512-145 = V S 1367)^b This is not inconsistent with the conclusion of Mr Jackson. It simply shows that even after the transfer of the Gurjara overlordship from Bhinnamāl to Anahilavāda, the former city continued as a flourishing city for 3½ centuries.

a Padmanābha, in the course of a description of its prosperity and holiness, calls Bhinnamāla मङ्गपुरी चहुवाणा सती (III—25)— the Brāhmana city under the Chahuāna again (Stanza 29) भिन्नमाल श्रीमाली वसई, The Śrīmālīs dwelt in Bhinnamāla.

b This fairly fits in with the sack of Anahilavāda Pātana (A D 1304), for it was on the return journey after taking Pātana and invading Soratha that the Mussalman general took Jālor (1311 A D). The interval of 7 years is not improbable M

of overlordship from Bhinmal to Anahilavada whose first Chalukya king was Mularaja (961-996 A D), and

- (h) That the Gurjara or Bhinmal empire broke up into several sections, the three leading portions being the Chauhan of Sambhar the Paramars of Malw and the Solankis of Anahilavada

It will be seen that Mr D R Bhandarkar's conclusions and those of A M T Jackson's can very well be dovetailed into each other so as to form a compact whole

A M T Jackson further holds (Bombay Gazetteer Vol I Part I P 465) that the numerous mentions of the Gurjaras and their country in inscriptions and historical works refer to the Chalukyas or Solankis of Anahilavada (A D 740-942) or to their successors the Vaghels (A D 1219-1301) that it is incorrect to conclude, even from the mention of the Gurjaras in documents older than the tenth century, that the Châvaddas of Anahilavâda or the Gurjaras of Broach (A D 508-808) or even the Valabhis (A D 509-766) are the Gurjaras referred to therein He has shown very good reasons for distrusting these theories I might note here only the reasons affecting the Broach Gurjaras It is true they admitted their Gurjara origin as late as the middle of the seventh century But there are strong reasons against this identification Pulakesi II in his Aihole inscription of A D 634 (S 556) mentions Gurjaras as separate from the Latas and the country of the Latas really included Broach Hiuen Tsiang (640 A D) speaks of the kingdom of Broach by the name of the city and not as Gurjara country In the eighth century the historians of the Arab raids notice Barus (Broach) separately from Jurz (or Jurr),²⁰ and the Chālukya grant of 736-37 A D mentions the

20 Al-Biladuri in Elliot, I 126 He lived towards the middle of the 9th century A D , having died in A D 892-3, as this reference in Elliot shows A M T Jackson uses the words 'the following century (after Hiuen Tsiang)' and it seems this may be merely a loose statement

Gurjaras (after the Chivadis and the Mauryas of Clitor) as the last of the kingdoms attacked by the Arab Army

We can thus safely ignore the so called Broach Gurjaras on the three fold ground of their temporary existence, their being minor feudatories, and their having ruled in Lata and not in North Gujarat and hold that the advent of the Gurjaras into Gujarât begins with the entry of the Solankis into Gujarat as concluded by Mr D R Bhandarkar

That the Gurjaras were foreigners is admitted on all hands We have noted before that Mr Devadatta R Bhandarkar, in his paper on the Gurjaras holds that Gurjaras were of Scythian origin In his paper entitled 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population'²¹ he hints at their connection with the White Huns though not to be regarded as of the same stock, as making them identifiable with the Khazars If we are to be guided by the ethnological analysis of the Indian races made by Risley we shall have to class the Gurjaras as Scythians for he finds the Scytho Dravidian type predominant in Gujarât and Western India and though the Indo Aryan type is dominant in Rajputâna and Panjab he finds other elements also mixed up in these parts and his theory is that the Scytho Dravidians like other types of races found by him, are a composite type formed by crossing with the Dravidians who were the indigenous Indians²² In the midst of this apparent conflict of theories one fact comes out boldly—viz that the Gurjaras were foreigners This is sufficient for our present purpose

There is no doubt that the Gurjaras established themselves in this land firmly, and were fully absorbed in the local population As a result of this complete intermixture, the questions that would influence or the language of the land intervene as most costly are Did the Gurjaras bring their language with them? What was their language? What influence did it exercise on the language of the land? What was the language of the land

21 The Indian Antiquary XL, January 1911

22 'The People of India', pp 37, 35 and 266

during the period of their power? Questions like these press themselves upon us, and we shall try our best to answer as many of them as we can. It cannot be conceived that the incomers would leave their own language behind them as soon as they set foot on Indian soil. It is equally inconceivable, as I have said in the course of my first lecture,²³ that they should have not influenced the local language in some degree or other. We need not go so far with Dr Tassitori as to assert that the Gurjars imposed²⁴ their language on the people of the land wherever they went. Such a theory seems to be like overstating the case. It is hardly consistent with the fact that in every other direction, social, religious, and the like, they got fully absorbed among the people of the land, and with the actual feature that the languages of the land as at present spoken and in their previous history show no violent detachment from the language preceding the advent of the Gurjars, but exhibit a sure though modified, continuation of the precedent language. A mere comparison of Gujarati, Marathi and Apabhramśa will satisfy us in this direction. Probably all that Dr. Tassitori means to convey is that the Gurjars gave of their language to the local tongue—a statement which no one will dispute.

What the language of the Gurjars themselves was is a point on which it is impossible to make any statement in the present state of our knowledge. Consequently it is not in our power to determine the influence it exercised on the local languages though we can safely attribute some of the non-Sanskrit features in Gujarati to that influence as a possible cause.

We have ample material however to know what the language of the land was during the period of their power. Dr Tassitori's valuable Notes on the Grammar of the old Western Rājasthān²⁵ have in the opening paragraphs lucidly established a theory which goes independently to support

23 See Pp. 8, 10 and 11 of *first*

24 *The Indian Antiquary* XLIII, February, 1914 p. 22

25 *The Indian Antiquary*, XLIII February 1914

*The language of
the land during
Gurjar ascendancy*

mans. This short span of less than a century was marked by two well known figures, Vastupāla and Tejapāla, who are immortalized by Someśvara in his Sanskrit work, *Kīrtīkāmudī*, and whose well-known inscriptions in Sanskrit at the temples built by them at Girnār, Śatranjaya and Ābu preserve a valuable record. These two ministers of Lavanaprasada, and his religious adviser, Someśvara named just now, are the outstanding characters in the opening period of Vāghelā rule, 1200 to 1233 A.D. We must skip over the successive rulers, Viradharala, Visaladeva, Arjunadeva, and Śārangadeva, and conclude with the bare mention of Karnadeva (1236 to 1304 A.D.) whose weak rule brought ruin on

the view expressed in a Gujarâtî article written by me on the "Origin of the Gujarâtî Language."²⁶ I suggested there that between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries of the Christian era a widely extensive language (which I termed latest *Apabhramśa*) was prevalent all over modern Gujarât and Rājputānā, and it was not till after the fifteenth century that this language gradually split up into Gujarâtî, Māravādî and kindred vernaculars.²⁷ Dr. Tessitori has named the prevalent language as Old Western Rājasthānî and holds that it split up into Gujarâtî and Māravādî about the end of the sixteenth century of the Christian era.

These observations apply to the period two or three centuries after the Chaulukya advent in the tenth century. Going backwards, we find from the tenth century back to the sixth century that the languages spoken were *Apabhramśa*, in its different forms, and probably some of the other Prākṛita with which we are not concerned here, as Gujarâtî is derived mainly from *Apabhramśa*. Dr. G. R. Bhāndārkar assigns the sixth or seventh century to the development of *Apabhramśa* in the country in which Brajbhāshā prevails in modern times.²⁸ I may later on elaborate this point at its proper place.²⁹ I shall pass over with deserved neglect the theory advanced by some people that modern Gujarâtî existed even when the Parsis immigrated into India and landed at Sanjān about the end of the eighth century of the Christian era. The idea is absurd and ridiculous, being inconsistent with the whole history and course of the Gujarâtî language, as will be clear when we enter upon that part of our inquiry.

To take up the thread where we left the Chaulukyas, we find the Vāghelās as their successors. Their sway extended from 1219 A.D. to 1304 A.D., at the end of which Gujarât was eventually conquered by the Mussal-

26. "Vasant," V. 8 1970, p. 649. 27. See my "Note on Some Special Features of Pronunciation, etc. in the Gujarâtî Language", the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLIV, January 1915. 28. See his "Wilson Philological Lectures," p. 392. 29. See *infra* Lecture V, opening pages.

māns. This short span of less than a century was marked by two well-known figures, Vastupāla and Tejshpāla, who are immortalized by Someśvara in his Sanskrit work, *Kīrtikāumudī*, and whose well-known inscriptions in Sanskrit at the temples built by them at Gīrnār, Śātrunjaya and Ābu preserve a valuable record. These two ministers of Lavanaprasada, and his religious adviser, Someśvara named just now, are the outstanding characters in the opening period of Vāghelā rule, 1200 to 1233 A. D. We must skip over the successive rulers, Viradharala, Visaladeva, Arjunadeva, and Śārangadeva, and conclude with the bare mention of Karnaadeva (1296 to 1301 A. D.) whose weak rule brought ruin on Rajput power in Gujarāt.

Here ends the pre-Mahomedan period in Gujarāt history, and,

before we glance at the Mussalmān period, we
The effects of these historical conditions on the language of Gujarāt. may pause here a while to consider the effects of these historical conditions on the formation of language in Gujarāt. We at once notice that most of the ruling people were foreigners.

others, who were not rulers, inflowed into the population; thus all, ruling tribes and others, eventually merged into the people. Mr. Vincent A. Smith notices this process as a prevailing one all over the country. He says:—

“In this place I desire to draw attention to the fact, long suspected and now established by good evidence, that the foreign immigrants into Rajputānā and the upper Gangetic provinces were not utterly destroyed in the course of their wars with the native powers. Many, of course, perished, but many more survived, and were merged in the general population, of which no inconsiderable part is now formed by their descendants. The foreigners universally yielded, like their fore-runners the Śakas and Yueh-chi, to the wonderful assimilative power of Hinduism, and rapidly became Hinduized. Clans or families which succeeded in winning Chieftainships were admitted readily into the frame of Hindu polity as Kshatriyas or Rajputs, and there is no doubt that the Parihāra and many other famous Rajput clans of the north were

developed out of the barbarian hordes which poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries. The rank and file of the strangers became Gujars and other castes a little lower than the Rajputs in the scale of precedence.³⁰

Mr D R Bhandarkar's interesting and able paper already alluded to above on 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' gives a number of clear proofs leading to the same conclusion. Beginning with the Greek Menandros (Menander Milinda), who became a Buddhist and several Yavana (Greek) private individuals who had become converts to Buddhism and adopted Indian names, also a Yavana dâta (a Greek ambassador) who became a Hindu and a Vaishnava. Mr Bhandarkar cites instances of Śakas of the imperial dynasty as well as private individuals having been converts to Buddhism of Kshatrapas under them having become Bauddhas and two—Ushavadâta and Rudradâman—having adopted Brâhmanism and the latter having married a Hindu wife and goes on to show that other foreigners, Âbhîras, Kushanas, Maga Brahmanas, Haihayas, Hînas, Gurjaras, Maitrakas and several others adopted Hindu or Bauddha religions or mingled with the Hindus in one way or other.

If we turn to ethnological considerations based on anthropometry we are informed by Risley, in his much criticized work that³¹ the dominant influence in the formation of these mixed ethnic types was the physical seclusion of India involving the consequence that the various invaders brought few women with them and took the women of the country to wife, and that to this rule there was only one exception viz the first wave of Indo Aryans. The reasons for this are given by him, he says —

'We may assume for our present purpose that the ancestors of the Indo Aryans came into India from the North West, and that at the time of their arrival the peninsula as far as the valley of the Ganges and Jumna, was in the possession of the Dravidians * * * * * We find no traces of Dravidian blood

30 'The Early History of India', P 303 (Second Edition)

31 The People of India P 266

among the Indo-Aryans of to-day. It seems probable, therefore, that when the Indo-Aryans entered the Panjâb they brought their own women with them, and were not reduced to the necessity of capturing Dravidians brides. On no other supposition can we explain the comparative purity of their type."³²

Even if we may not be able to fully endorse these definite conclusions, we cannot ignore the fact of foreign admixture in the ethnic composition of India, because we have other grounds on which to base the same conclusion, as we have already seen above. Accepting this view in its broad aspect, then, we observe that while such a mingling of races facilitated the mixture and new formation of the local language, the constantly disturbed condition of the country did not give much scope for literature to flourish and thrive, except during periods like those of the Solankis, especially under Siddharâja and Kumârapâla, as already noticed before, or during the times of early classic Sanskrit literature.

*The Mussalman
period.*

We shall now cast a hurried glance at the
Mussalman period (A.D. 1297 to 1760).

This period of over four centuries and a half is divisible into three parts:—

(I) The rule of the early sovereigns of Delhi, a little over a century (A.D. 1297 to 1403);

(II) The rule of the Ahmedâbâd kings, nearly a century and three quarters (A.D. 1403 to 1573), and

(III) The rule of the Mugal Emperors, i.e. of the Viceroys under them, a period of nearly two centuries (A.D. 1573 to 1760).

The territorial extent of Gujarât during these four centuries and a half varied greatly. It was as under —

In the 14th century—Jâlor in the North to the neighbourhood of Dombay in the South, and from the Mâlva and Khândesh hills in the East to the sea in the west.

In the first half of the 15th century—Much the same as above.

In the second half of the 15th century and in the first quarter of

32. "The People of India." P. 49.

the 16th century:—Large portions from Khândesh and Málvâ were added to the former territory.

In the later part of the 16th century A.D.—(1580 to 1573)..... during which there was a period of misrule.....The West of Khândesh and the North of Konkan were outside the Kingdom of Gujarât.

Lastly—under the arrangements introduced by Akbar in A. D. 1583—more lands were restored to Málvâ and Khândesh.

Later on Jâlor and Sirohî, in the North; Dungarpur and Bânsvâdâ in the North-East; and Alirâjpur in the East were handed over to Rajputânâ and Central India; and there remained then the present day province of Gujarât.

Bird's History of Gujarât (which is practically a translation of Mirât-e-Ahmedi)—at P. 110—gives a list of *Sarkârs* (i. e. districts) and parts included in the political domain of Gujarât. It contains Judhpur and Jâlor and Nâgore (in Rajputânâ), goes South to Bassein, in and Daman, and even further South to Dândâ-Râjpur (in Konkan); and in the East and North-East includes Mulher and Nandurbâr (in Khândesh) and Dungarpur, Bânsvâdâ and Sirohî.

We must remember here that this territorial extent signified nothing more than an arrangement of political geography, not linguistic topography which could not be possibly effected by such administrative apportionments.

In viewing the history of the Mussalmân period we must bear in mind the half a century of political disorder (A. D. 1707 to 1767) which followed the death of Aurangzib. During this period the Marâthâs found their opportunity. We shall touch the Marâthâ period very soon. But before doing

that we may just examine the conditions affecting intellectual and linguistic development during the Mahomedan period. It is note-worthy that, while during the pre-Mohomedan period the foreign races intermingled with the indigenous ones to such an extent that new resultant races of special types were

Conditions affecting linguistic development during the Mahomedan period.

formed, and one of the results was the formation of our Prâkrits and their further evolution, the case was different during the Mussalmân period. Between the ruling races and the ruled there was not that intermixture of blood and racial absorption which marked the centuries preceding the Mahomedan rule. I do not ignore the matrimonial relations into which the Mugal Emperors entered with some of the Rajputs, nor the several conversions of Hindus to Islâm which have given us communities like the Momins, Khojâs, Bohorâs and the like. But they are peculiar social formations in which the combining elements are still visible as distinct factors, formations quite distinct in character from the racial absorptions of the previous centuries. Besides, the Mussalmân formations were limited in scope, whereas the previous absorptions affected the extensive Hindu social fabric. These naturally influenced the language of the country in consequence of that phenomenon. For while the Mussalmân formations were in a way artificial operations, the pre-Moslem absorptions were in their nature evolutionary processes. The result was that the only influence the language of the ruling Mussalmâns, viz Persian exercised on the indigenous languages and literature was external and not organic.³³ It must all the same be admitted that the vernaculars went along the road of evolutionary formation—even during this period, unaffected in their organic constitution by the external Persian influence.

During this period certain communities such as the Nâgars, Kûlyasthas and Brahma-Kshatriyas—members of which communities filled administrative posts—studied and mastered the language of the court, so much so that some of them were noted as Persian scholars and poets. The well known intellectual and literary

33 This remark is subject to one reservation. The wide sound of *अ* and *आ* in words of the types of *अल* and *आल* in Gujarâtî, although owing its rise to the phonetic conditions existing in the preceding stages (*अवर* and *आवहृदा*), where the accentuation of the *अ* and the presence of *र* at *ल* prepared the ground for this sound, found a stimulating kinship in the foreign sound in Arabic and Persian in words of the types of *ألم* and *ألم*. For a full treatment of this subject see Lecture IV *infra*.

pastime called *bayt ba-r*³⁴ in which the Nâgars and perhaps the other two communities indulged during caste dinners, furnish an index to the influence exercised by the Persian language in those communities. Then, again, the official language being Persian throughout the provinces it naturally threw a considerable infusion of Persian words into the language of administration and indirectly into the language of the country in general. Another process that came into play was the indirect influence of the official and court language on the language of the bazaar the masses wherein naturally words frequently got altered morphologically through the intellectual limitations of the people and other circumstances generally affecting the pronunciation of words. It was this process which brought into existence the Urdu i.e. camp-language, on the one hand, and Persianized the vocabulary (simply the vocabulary, be it noted) of the language of the land.

It is interesting to note that the morphological alterations of words mentioned just now were governed by the same phonetic laws which affected the changes from Sanskrit to Prâkrit and Prâkrit to Gujarâtî - i.e. same as those affecting changes from Sanskrit to Prâkrit or Prâkrit to Gujarâtî. A few instances picked up at random may illustrate this remark —

- (1) व्यत्यय (*Vyatyaya*) metathesis i.e. interchange of letters, e.g.

Persian (Arabic) अमानत, Gujarâtî अनामत. This process is noticed by Hemachandra in his Grammar at VIII 11, 116 to 124, instances whereof are

Prâkrit वणारसी (which gives Benares, बनारस) from Sanskrit वाराणसी

34 The game consisted in one guest repeating a couplet from Persian poetical works and another reciting another beginning with the final letter of his predecessor's piece, and so on, till the chain went swinging in great excitement.

Prākṛit अलचपुर from Sanskrit अचपुर, etc.
This process also governs the formation of (G) विण्डी
from (S.) विण्ड 35

- (2) स्वरान्तराः प्रायोऽप्यन्ते (नि. इ. ८-४-२०८) is a rule which accounts for a number of vowel changes. And an addition of a vowel at the beginning of words (as अघोर for घोर etc.) marks a characteristic feature in Gujarātī phonetics. These two principles are found to work in the Gujarātī word आवेद्व from the Arabic, *ʿawad*.
- (3) A peculiar feature of Gujarātī is the wide or विवृत sound of ए and ओ in certain formations. I shall deal with the principles involved in these formations in a subsequent lecture. Here it may be simply stated that this principle (which operates in the transition of words from Sanskrit or Prākṛit into Gujarātī) is found to operate also in the case of Persian and Arabic words transmuted into Gujarātī, e g

Arabic or Persian	Gujarātī
कौल (कूल)	काल
गैरत (गुपूरत)	गैरत
हैरान (हयूरान)	हैरान
अव (अयूव)	अव ³⁶
गैव (गयूव)	गैव
गैर (गयूर)	गैर (in गैरवाजवी &c)

&c &c

(Note—Only in वगैरे (Arabic वगैरह) the ए in गै is not विवृत. This may be treated as an exception).

35 S - George Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. IX, Part II, Page 331, para 6.) cites the word विण्डी amongst words formed by applying the termination ण्डी (दी, टी, डी). This is obviously erroneous. His instance of कुकडी (Kukda) a cock is equally wrong, this is an internal and non-terminal (कुकुट-कुकुटी-कुकुटी) in it as in विण्डी-विण्डी.

36 I have on purpose written अव with a व as I have to denote the wide sound by an inverted व.

In words like शहर (Pers. शहर), कहर (Pers. कहर), क्षर (Pers. क्षर), and the like the process by which the विसृत sound of प is evolved comprizes a few internal mutations which I shall deal with at the proper place in another lecture.

(4) The change of the final प³⁷ into ओ (Masculine) or ॐ (Neuter); e. g.

Persian or Arabic	Gujarātī
पदेह	पदो
मुदेह	मुदो
प्यादेह	प्यादो
खझानेह	खजानो
तकियेह	तकियो
नकारेह	नगारु
प्यालेह	प्यालो

etc., etc., etc.

On the other hand, words without such final syllable, but having only a consonant, form in Gujarātī words with a final अ; thus:—

Persian or Arabic	Gujarātī
मद	मरद
बाग	बाग
किकर	किकर, ककर

&c. &c.

This feature corresponds to the principle whereby words ending in अक in Sanskrit, turning it into अउ in Apabhramśa, become words with a final ओ in Gujarātī, and Sanskrit words without the क termination and ending in अ become in Gujarātī words with a final अ; e. g.

Sanskrit	Apabhramśa	Gujarātī.
दन्तकः	दंतउ	दंतो
हस्तकः	हथउ	हाथो
दन्तः	दंत	दंत
हस्तः	हथ	हाथ

etc., etc.

37. The प in प³⁷ is very short; it almost gives a sound like अ.

It may be suggested that in the transition from Persian and Arabic into Gujarātī there must be a similar *अउ* sound formed imperceptibly before the terminal *ओ* or (*उं*) is formed.

- (5) The change of *झ* to *ज* in Gujarātī; e. g. *नम्र* (P.) to *नजर* (G.); *कात्री* (P.) to *काजी* (G.); *बाही* (P.) to *बाजी* (G.); *मिह्र* (P.) to *मिहो* (G.); *मिद* (P.) to *मिद* (G.), *मिमान* (P.) to *मिमान* (G.); *et cetera*.

Of these words, *मिमान* appears to have at first passed through the process of *व्यत्यय*, and the intermediate step thus arrived at being *मिमाझ*, the final *झ* is changed to *ज* and we have *मिमान* as spoken in all parts of Gujarāt except Surat and Broach, while in this latter tract the final *झ* is turned into *स*, and they have the word, *मिमास*. This is not accepted, however as a *śiṣṭa* form, which is determined by generality of usage in the writing and speech of educated classes.

This principle is peculiar to the relation between Persian and Gujarātī as the *झ* (Z) sound is foreign to Sanskrit and other Indian languages.

- (6) Misapprehension of sense leading to a wrong word being used; e. g.

(Arabic) *तरफ* (sing.). *तरफें* (dual). (Guj.) *तरफेण*.

The Arabic *तरफें* means "two sides", whereas *तरफेण* in Gujarātī is used, by people not knowing this fact, to mean *तरफ*,—a side.

(This case does not affect the morphology of the word, but is included here to illustrate the principle of misapprehension)

- (7) *Aspiration of consonants*; e. g.

Persian or Arabic

दल

Gujarātī.

दल

Instances of this kind are frequently found in changes from Sanskrit and Prākṛit into Gujarātī:—

Sanskrit	Prākṛit or Apabhramśa	Gujarātī.
बोजवः	बोजव	बूजो
उवाटा	जाटा	माटा
काग्नः	कंतु	कंध

etc., etc.

(8) The change of क to ग,

Persian or Arabic

Gujarati.

नवारहू

नगारु

This change is noticed in *St. He* V III-iv-396 as occurring in *pabhramsa*, also in the case of certain words in Prākṛit (*St He* 'III-1-182³⁸)

It also occurs in Gujarati formations in some cases e. g.

Sanskrit

Gujarati

पर्यंक

पलग

द्विकक

बगडो

एकादश

अगिया

एकीन—

ओगण (in ओगणीस, ओगणवीस &ca)

उग्रकाळ

उगनगळो etc

(9) The change of इ or उ (not at the end of a word) to अ e. g.

Persian

Gujarati

मुँदू

मड्डु

मुग (=a bird)

मरघ (हु)—a cock³⁹

मरघो

मरघी

फकर

फिकर

&ca.

This change is largely prevalent in the transition from Sanskrit or Prākṛit into Gujarati—e. g.

विना (Skr.), विण (Prkr.)

Gujarati

तिल (Skr. & Prkr.)

વના

चिनोति (Skr.) }

તલ

चिणइ (Prkr.) }

ચળે

मुद्ग (Skr.) }

મગે

मुग (Prkr.) }

લળ

लुनाति (Skr.) }

1

लुणइ (Prkr.) }

1

&ca &ca

38 viz मरकत-मरगय, मदकल-मयगळे, कदुक-गदुम

39 As regards the change of meaning of the English word *foal* which originally meant *ar / bird*

These instances will be sufficient to indicate the extensive nature of the operation of identical or similar phonetic principles in the transmutation of words whether the language of origin be Sanskrit or Prakrit on the one hand or Arabic or Persian on the other. We know, even now English words in passing through changes while coming into our vernaculars follow similar phonetic laws. For instance *agreement* (English) becomes गिरमिट in our vernaculars and here we see the operation of the principle that unaccented initial vowels are generally dropped. The word *doctor* becomes दागदर with Hindi-speaking villagers thus softening the medial simple hard क and त in दाकतर, an operation very common in *Apabhramśa*.

The case of Marathi will also furnish apposite instances thus—

(1) स (/) in Persian is changed in Marathi to द —

Persian	Marathi
आममाह	अदमास
बुमर्ग	बुदरक (as in दिगण बुदरक ऊपडाई बुदरक (ca names of villages)

(2) स्वरयय—

Persian बाद अम सलाम	/
Marathi बाजत सलाम	

(3) A soft consonant in Persian is changed to a hard one : Marathi—

Persian	Marathi.
बुमर्ग	बुदरक (in names of villages as noted above)
बाद अम सलाम	बाजत सलाम

The hardening is due in the first case to the ग coming as a final consonant (ग्) and in the second case to the द (interchanged with स as noted above) sounding as a pure consonant and being followed by र. This operation is well known in the rules of *संस्कृत* in Sanskrit.

We must now hurry on to the Maratha period of the history of Gujarat. The Maratha connection with Gujarat comprizes the following periods —

- I The period of predatory inroads from 1664 to 1743 A D , during which the Marathas had not still established themselves within the province
- II The period of mercenary aid — 1743 to 1760 A D , during which the Marathas interfering in the quarrels of the Mahomedan officials lent their troops and gradually acquired territory and
- III The period of domination from 1760 to 1801 A D , during which the Gayakvada's influence was occasionally greater than that of the Peshvas

After 1802 A D the Maratha supremacy disappeared and the paramount power practically passed on to the British

During the whole of the Maratha period history was made more by the Government and its delegates than by the people. The interest of the Marathās in Gujarat was simply pecuniary. Sivaji's main object was booty, and the commercial and artizan population suffered most in consequence. Rapidity of action being his aim Sivaji's visits were short and their effects transitory. He carried away booty that could be transported by his horsemen. No women or followers accompanied his expeditions, and he took no prisoners except a few who were likely to pay a heavy ransom. Women and cultivators were exempted from capture. During the latter part of the Maratha depredations, however the expeditions moved in a more leisurely manner and in greater force. Booty was taken to the Dakhan in carts now, the roads and passes in the rear being guarded by the Marathas.

The internal dissensions between the Peshva and the Maratha Dabhādē are too well known to need any detailed mention. They kept up the unsettled state in Gujarāt for some years, till eventually virtual supremacy passed into the hands of the Gayakvāda. Another feature to be noted is that during their sway in Gujarāt the Marāthas had to recruit their

soldiers in the Konkan and the Ghats, the warlike tribes as also the aboriginal races of Gujarat, for several reasons not furnishing any fighting material to the army of the Marāṭhās. The home of this Marāṭhā army was always the Dakhan and for many years after the Marāṭhās established themselves in Gujarat, their army regularly spent the rainy season in their native country. Their leaders also stayed as much as possible near the Court in the Dakhan. No force was maintained in Gujarat sufficient to consolidate the Marāṭhā acquisitions there into a manageable whole. The result was that Marāṭhā domination rapidly disappeared before it could get assimilated into the system of the province, a thing to be expected under conditions wherein the administration of the province, which was at a distance from the mother-country of the rulers, partook more of the nature of a military occupation than a well established civil government, wherein the principal actors and wielders of power were disunited by internal jealousies and dissensions, wherein the central authority itself was actuated by feelings of distrust and jealousy towards the administrators on the spot, wherein these feelings as well as the short sightedness of the local authorities came in the way of organizing a proper government from the system already existing, thus making the administrative arrangement lifeless and inelastic, as a thing imposed on a foreign people from outside and not as worked into them from inside.

These noticeable features are to be borne in mind in con-

*Unrecorded indu-
ces in the contact
with Marāṭhās, as
affecting the langu-
age of the land*

sidering the extent or absence of literary life and activity during and soon after this period of Marāṭhā advent and supremacy. There were, however certain institutions during this period which unfortunately the writers of history have

not troubled themselves with noticing but which are useful to us in our present study. Such for instance, was the system of *śāstrīnā* and the competitions amongst the Śāstrīs connected therewith of which we know from reliable tradition and other sources. These competitions were the cause direct or indirect

of many impressions, varied in strength and depth, left by the Marāṭhī language and institutions on those of Gujarāt. Sanskrit learning was, at one stage of this period inseparably associated with the Dakhan Brāhmanas, so much so that Gujarātī Śāstris adopted even the head-dress of the Marāṭhī Brahmanas, till that peculiar turban came to be regarded as a mark of learning, as it were, and it has now come to be the head-dress of certain Brahmana castes in Gujarāt. (Even now in at least one caste there are two sorts of turbans worn, the ordinary Gujarātī turban (spherical in shape) by the ordinary section, and the Dakhan Brāhmana's turban by the Śāstrī and Purāṇī class amongst them).

This was but a small indication of the competitions. These at one time created such keen rivalry and jealousies that the Gujarātī and Dakhanī Brahmanas picked holes into each other, even in the matter of the way of pronunciation. The Dakhanī Brāhmanas looked down upon the pronunciation of Sanskrit by the Gujarātīs as corrupt and this feeling gave birth to the current stanza —

मुटसी तटसी जातो (ता) मुहुःशेऽपि मयन्दकः ।

मुर्जरणां मुखं चटं (प्राप्य) चिरोऽपि शक्तां गतः ॥

I very well remember how keenly this feeling was resented by the late Śāstrī Vrajalāl Kālidās⁴⁰ who used to say:—

"These Dakhanī Brāhmanas accuse us of corrupt pronunciation; ask them to pronounce the vowel *ḥ*; they are sure to sound an *r* in it. Their tongues ought to be pulled out for that!" (He was an excitable Śāstrī in his days). That this feeling of mutual jealousy had risen to a high pitch at one time can be

40. He lived in the early part of the present Vikrama Samvat century, having died on *Kārtika Vada* 10th V. S. 1942 (=11th December 1892 A. D.)—*vide his life-sketch* written by Mr. Tanasukharam M. Tripathī, published with *Vaisheshik Sāra*, translated by the said Śāstrī, V. S. 1934. I possess a letter from him to me dated V. S. 1942, Bīṭ-*drapada* Śudī 15, from his native village of Malitaj (Nadiād Taluka, Kaira Dist.) where he passed his days of retirement. He says in this letter that he was 60 years old then. Thus he was born in V. S. 1882. I am driven to depend on this calculation, as unfortunately Mr. Tanasukh Tripathī's sketch does not give the year of the Śāstrī's birth.

judged by the fact, told me by an old Śāstrī years ago, that the drees of the Gujarātī women formed the subject of comment by the opposite community and a reply by the Gujarātī Śāstrīs.

I mention these small incidents simply to mark the close literary contact during this period between the two communities. But this much must be specially noted: that it was confined to the Sanskrit *Pandit* class and for the most part in connection with Sanskrit learning. Real linguistic contact between the two vernaculars came about the same time, no doubt, but amongst the generality of the population, and it left comparatively very limited impression on the Gujarātī language. The reasons can be traced in the rather superficial and transitory nature of the contact between the two races, as can be seen from the summary of the Marāṭhī period.⁴¹ The result was that stray words like नारंगदो⁴² (the name of a particular street in Ahmadābād) still survive in Gujarātī as marks of this contact. It must be noted that certain words, e. g. परिष्ट⁴³ (=a washerman), एबाद⁴⁴ (=a liar, etc.) found in Gujarātī literature of periods contemporaneous with and even previous to the Marāṭhī can be accounted for by the fact that such words came into Marāṭhī as well as Gujarātī independently from a common source, viz. the *Deśya* or Prākṛit language of earlier days. This is specially indicated by the fact

41. This phenomenon may be compared, with certain modifications, to the fact that Greek influence on India was but temporary and superficial, in spite of the Greek contact lasting from Alexander's time to that of Menander (with certain interruptions) and, as Mr. Vincent A. Smith writes ("The Early History of India, P. 225, 2nd Edition), "the Greek influence rarely touched the fringe of Hindu civilization, and was powerless to modify the structure of Indian institutions in any essential respect." This applies to linguistic influence equally.

42. Sanskrit नारिणः becomes (by *Si. Hc.* VIII-1-233) नारिणो or नरिणो. It is just possible that नारि came from the former into Gujarātī and was subsequently lost, and नरि from the latter into Marāṭhī.

43. See नंदशौरी of Śāmalā (V S 16th century), stanzas 27 and 23 (इ. म. दो. म. I. page 341).

44. 19th century usage, See *Narmadā* P. V

that while Marāṭhī has परीट, a further development from the original *deśya* word, Gujarāṭī is nearer the original, which is परियटो (See *Deśi Nāma-Mālā* of Hemachandra Varga VI, St. 15). It will be useful to examine a few more instances at this place:—

(a) आई (=mother). This word is known to Marāṭhī, but not generally, to Gujarāṭī, only in a few cases is the word used in Gujarāṭī; thus—

(1) बेडो चाई बँडतो त्दारो रे

अँवे आई पार उतारो;

(2) आई ए समोवड को नहिं;^{4 5}

(3) आई is used amongst the Kāthīs in Kāthiāvāda in the sense of 'father's mother.'

Most probably आई is derived from, or allied to, Sanskrit आर्या which gives अज्जा in Prakṛit and आजी in Marāṭhī. Śauraseni and Māgadhī as also Pālī would give अय्या; which also may be the origin of आई. (Cf. Sanskrit आर्य = father-in-law, as in आर्यपुत्र (the term addressed to a husband by a wife), and आर्या = mother-in-law).

(4) वहीआई or वडियाई is current in modern Gujarāṭī in the sense of 'mother's mother' (वही = great and आई = mother).

(b) आपो is used amongst the Kāthīs to address males respectfully. This must be in the sense of आप or more probably चापा. The word आप is from Sanskrit आत्मन् *deśya* अप्पा connected with the Dravidian—Appa (अप्पा), meaning 'father' (Kanarese अप्पा = father). The primary sense being 'self', it must be a term of respect; just as पोते means 'self' primarily in Gujarāṭī and is used respectfully in sentences like पोते घरमां छे के? (Is the 'self' inside the house?). In Marāṭhī अप्पा is confined to proper names of persons (i. e. in nick-names), e. g. अप्पा साहेब, अप्पा साहेब &c.

45 "ईश्वरविवाह" by Murāri, copy of the Ms is dated V. S 1675. It is not known, says the *Bṛhat Kāṭya Nohana*, where Murāri came from. Could he have been from Kāthiāvāda? for he uses the expression तेनेवही:—

तेन तेवहीए त.गोभो पार्वती करो हाय.

वृ. का. दो. पं. ६, पृ. ४७६.

which तेनेवही is a Kāthiāvādi expression for—"of equal age;" though the exact expression (Kāthiāvādi) would be तनवही.

* (I am told of the joke about one of the Kathi Chiefs who was given the title of C I E (सी आई ई), whereupon the Kathi people used to say - '—सावर तो आवो मदीन आई प्या')

(c) भांग = (Marathi) the parting of the hair, in modern Gujarati called सर्पी

Vallabha Bhatta (17th century A D) has in his 'शणमारनो गरवो —

"मरी भांग मृगता ते महा मूर्खता रे लो"

Another has—

* "भांग समार मोतीद

(d) चीचोडा (Gujarati-modern) = कचूडा tamarind seeds

Marathi has चिच = tamarind from Sanskrit चिंचा (See Amarakosa)

This word is seen only in this word चीचोडा in Gujarati for the word for tamarind is आवडी

(e) पुढे = before (from Sanskrit पुर) This word is current even in present day Marathi but not in Gujarati. Yet in a Ms copy of मूलक निर्णय (V S 1699) shown to me by Mr Chhaganlal V Raval (a retired Head Master of Vernacular Schools) of Junagadh I find this word used several times ⁴⁰

I may here note the tendency even during present times with some Gujaratis in Baroda to import Marathi words unsuited to the spirit of the Gujarati language, e g

(1) पान for 'page' when in Gujarati पान would signify a beetle leaf or 'the leaf of a tree generally

(2) निदान = at least which is quite foreign to Gujarati

४६ श्राद्धा म क्ताने व लरा क द भयरा हानवर्ग वलम वगने पुढ ज प तो वन सपने
रनात हो (P 7-2 || 2 3)

छ मास पुढे जव मूर्ख एक रात्र जव पुढ रनात विठ्ठलदेव ज वागे देवगद्गु जे १ जदि ॥
त्रा मास पुढ छ मास पर्वत वसुति शब्दे एक रात्रि एक दिवस बीबी रात्र वद्विष्णु प रे
दिन पाने। (P 4-2 || 1 to 4)

विदुष मो ने वद रात्र पुढ साभडे तो विम म पर्वत दिन २ मुशायी

(I 4 1 1 9)

बारदल वदभा पुढ पत्ता छदि

(P 4-1 1 1)

श्राद्धजन नह (I) पुढ म बार लेविने लव मर्तु ने व (P 3-2 || 8-9)

(3) વાઢાવાટ = discussion equally foreign to Gujarati,

(4) ચલવલ = agitation,

(5) ચલકટ = strong etc

This tendency is due to the influence of official correspondence and the easy receptivity of the imitating nature of a certain class of people. The success or failure of such words attempting to force an entrance into another language must depend on (1) the persistence with which the attempt continues (2) the reality or otherwise of the need for such words in the receiving language, and (3) the intrinsic suitability or unsuitability of such words to the nature of the receiving language.

I need not dwell at any length on the post Marāṭhā period. Knowledge about the course of linguistic development during these last hundred years is within easy reach of every one, and the only factors useful for our inquiry are the infusion of Portuguese and English words into our vernaculars. The latter are so well known that I may only indicate a few typical instances — *કલેક્ટર*, *રેલ્વે*, *ઓફિસ*, *ગવર્નર*, *ટાઈમટેબલ*, *સ્ટેશન*, etc etc, etc.

The Portuguese no doubt, came into India at the end of the fifteenth century A D. But their contact with Gujarati, indirect as it was, exercised a filtering influence on the Gujarati language during later years. A few instances of Gujarati words which are traceable to Portuguese origin may be noted here —

Gujarati	Portuguese
આકુસ	Alfonsa
પાયરી	Pires
અનનાસ	Ananas ⁴⁷
કાફી	Cafe

47. Mr. Keshablal M. Javeri derives this form *Parvana* (rather Arabic) *અવન વનનાસ* = 'eye of the people'. (His paper on "કેટલાક પારસી શબ્દો" read before the third Gujarati Sahitya Parishad at Rajkot P. ૨૨)

This derivation (from Arabic) seems artificial. The fruit is South American, and the Brazilian word is *ananas anessa* or *anas* first mention being Peruvian *ananas* (Century Dictionary)

Gujarati	Portuguese
बाज	Caju
इस्कोरियो	Escritoria
पादरी	Padre
मेज	Mesa
बटाटा	Batata
तमाकू ⁴⁸	Tabaco

(From *Influencia do Vocabulario Portuguez em Linguas Asiaticas* by Monsenhor S. Rodolfo Dalgado)⁴⁹

I shall now briefly indicate such factors as form part of *Historical & special contact* historical influences that affect the evolution of a language with special reference to Gujarati. Next after contact with immigrant races which we have examined at some length comes interprovincial contact i.e. the communication between one province and another. The effect of such a contact on the formation of a language will be regulated by the stage of evolution which it has reached. Thus while on the one hand during the past centuries when facilities for travel and communication were very limited the influence of the languages of other provinces on Gujarati was naturally expected to be limited also and was thus limited on the other hand although during the present times of close communication and rapid travelling facilities between province and province in India such influence may be expected to be strong yet as a matter of fact it is not so for during the old centuries the language was in stages of progressive phonetic formation whereas now it has arrived at a sort of settled morphological condition and hence the only effect of inter-provincial contact is seen in translations from Bangali and Marathi literature and occasional importation of words.⁵⁰ During the past centuries

The Century Dictionary gives *Anana* as Portuguese.

48 Some people derive the word from *सर्प* ('Serp') and claim a great antiquity for the drug as indigenous to India. I reserve my observations on that point for my next lecture.

49 This book was kindly lent to me by Mr. P. I. Karkar.

50 Cf. the word *महासर्प* which is undoubtedly imported from Bangali in the sense of 'Serp'—a sense which is not known to the original Sanskrit.

communication between provinces widely apart was secured* by pilgrimages trade connection inter marriage and the like These were not forces strong enough to secure linguistic unity where such did not exist and where some sort of a *lingua franca* served to secure mutual understanding Where such was the case one side had perforce to acquire the language of the other Want of this arrangement occasionally resulted in amusing or tragic misunderstanding There is a story not historical but typically significant related of a Kanarese wife newly wedded to a Marathi husband The wife was making up a betel leaf *patti* for the husband she wanted to know how he would like to take the chunam whether applied on the leaf or separate (as many people in the Deccan take it) So she asked —यडे मेळे ? (*Yalê mêlê ?*) : e 'Shall I apply it on the leaf? (यडे=a leaf मेळे=upon) The husband innocent of his wife's mother tongue thought she said —यल्ली मेळी : e 'Yelli was dead (Yelli was the name of this man's sister) He answered philosophically—'हरिसत्ता (*Harî sattî*) : e 'We must submit to the power (सत्ता) of Hari (God) At this the wife burst crying and lamenting for Hari was her brother's name and सत्ता (*sattî*) in Kanarese means 'is dead'

The traces of inter provincial communication which existed in old times are to be discovered in unexpected corners of linguistic domain A couple of instances may throw light on this aspect Thus (G) यालकि (*Yālaka*) the word एलची in Gujarati lights up the whole history of trade relations between Gujarat and the Malabar coast which is the source of production of that article (cardamom) It is pre-eminently a product of Kanara District and its name in Kanarese is यालकि The Hindi is एलायची and the Marathi वेळहोडे(डा) has nothing in common with it except the first part वेळ which may be from Sanskrit एला The ची in Gujarati एलची and Hindi एलायची can not be accounted for by the Sanskrit एला It can only be explained

skrit It is distinctly a characteristic Bangāl coming I know personally how this word was first introduced by the late Narayana Hemendra (a most voluminous translator from Bangāl) in his writings and how it caught

by the *वि* in *यादवि*, *च* and *क* being phonetically allied and convertible, especially when *ई* follows the *क*. Further, *यादवि* in Kanarese can be analyzed into *यादु+अवि* (=1. rice 2 any grain resembling rice, 3 husked grain) This *अवि* seems to be an altered form of the Tamil *वाय्* in *यादवाय्* which is the Tamil for *यादवि* (kanarese). Another form of the word given me is *यादकायि*, *कायि* meaning 'a raw fruit' in Tamil as it also does in Kanarese.⁵¹ It is very probable that Sanskrit *एटा* was formed from the Dravidian *याद* or *यादु* as cardamom is a Dravidian product and the *ए* in Gujarati *एचची* and *एच* in Hindi *एलायची* indicate a reversion to the Sanskrit *एटा* or a cross formation between the Sanskrit *एटा* and Kanarese *यादवि*. Finally, the gender of *एचची* in Gujarati is really neuter only through ignorance and the false appearance of the final *ई* (generally found in words of the feminine gender) it is that many people use it in the feminine gender. This conforms with the Kanarese wherein all inanimate things are in the neuter gender.

Then take the game of *गिटीइटा* which in one variety has for computing the scores the terms *वकट*, *ऐण*, *मूर*, *नार*. These are really from Kanarese words meaning 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four' — *वकटु* (*वक*=one+*टु*=to bind) *यई* (=two) *मूर* (=three) *नारु* (=four). It is very probable that this variety of the game travelled along the coast northwards as far as Surat, for in Gujarati proper the game is played in a different variety and with different score words. The game with the Kanarese words has also travelled inland into the Deccan.

Finally, a different historical fact affecting our language may

Anthropological	be noted. It does not concern the morphology of any words as much as the anthropological
light thrown by	side of the country and its history as stored up
single words and	in a single word. I have in mind one particular
these derivations	word — <i>ओट</i> (<i>o/lo</i>) which signifies a particular
ओट, (G) वदुर (M)	wandering tribe of earth diggers diggers of wells
ओटुह (Kan)	and tanks. A similar tribe is known in the Maharashtra (Deccan) as
	<i>वदुर</i> (<i>Vad lar</i>) or (<i>Va lar</i>). It is common for <i>व</i> and <i>ओ</i> to be inter-

⁵¹ I owe all this various information to two friends who are familiar with Tamil and Kanarese.

changed between Marathi and other languages (even अ and ए are so changed to व as in वस्त्र Marathi=भस्त्रो (Gujarati), a razor, वेळ in वेळडोडे for एळची एजिन is वैजिन with the Kunbi class in the Deccan), e.g. वस्ताद is वस्ताद in Marathi while ओळख is वळख amongst the Marathi villagers

This explains the व in वहर But whence the superfluous looking र? We have to go further south for the origin of this little र In Kanarese ओइ is the word for a digger of this kind they are either मण्यु-ओइ (=diggers of मण्यु=earth) or कल्ल-ओइ (diggers of कल्ल=atone) The plural of ओइ in Kanarese would be ओइर⁵² This ओइर may easily drop⁵³ the final short उ and become ओइर, वहर in Marathi and the र get merged into the word itself, losing its terminal character by mere misapprehension⁵⁴ This state of things is specially due to the fact that in mentioning one's caste or tribe people use the word expressing the caste or tribe in the plural, thus —Kanarese नीवु यातरवर?—(what caste are you? Lit 'you of whom?'), the answer—even if the speaker is alone—would be 'नावु हविकर' (we are Haviks') Gujarati—'हमे वाणिजा' 'we are Vantias' A Mussalman cultivator at Tadas (Th. Hubli Dist. Dhurwar) told me on being asked his tribe—that he was शेखा (plural of शेख) Compare Holeyar (होलेयर), current as a base word meaning Mahār or Holeyā and Holeyaru (plur.) in Kanarese

52 In Tamil etc. also it seems to be ओइर An article in the East and West 1908 A.D. Page 56 on a description of a fair at Tirupathi, has—'The bearers (of doolies)—who are all oldars (or diggers) by caste in this part of the country. Mark the double plural—unconsciously used in oldars the र itself being a Tamil plural and the an English affix. Compare the bad use of the plural terminations in a mixed way made by many Bombay people, as in लेडीझो, फेलोझो—Ladies +ओ Gujarati plural affix fellows +ओ Gujarati plural affix I once heard a Parsi gentleman speak of किरणो किरण (=a ray) Gujarati +s English affix +ओ, Gujarati affix

53 To be accurate the उ turns into अ

54 Cf. नागरपचमी where नागर is the Kanarese genitive of नागह (plur.) the plural being मानार्थ because of नाग (the snake) being an object of worship

Now it is significant that these names ओड (Guj.), वडुर or वडर (Marāṭhi) and ओडु (-रु) (Kanarese and other Dravidian languages) should be so allied, and this apparent affinity is explained by the wandering habits of the tribe. It is possible that the Oda tribe originally came from the Dravidian country (South India), as this history of the name indicates. This theory fits in with the name of the celebrated Oda beauty with whom Siddharāja Jayasinha fell in love,—Jasamī (जसमी), the *mī* (मी) of which can be best accounted for by the Dravidian form यमम्मा Yaśamma.

Mabel Duff, in her "Chronology of India" (P. 106) states that Rājendra Chola (1002 A. D.) numbers amongst his conquests "the country of the Oddas or Odras—i. e. Orissa." (Epigraphia Indica IV, 68; Inscriptions: Madras Christian College Magazine, V. 41; Archaeological Survey S. India, iii, 68, 95 100, 142; iv, 77, II.). Could these be the same as *Odas*, *Vaddars*? If so, and if Orissa is the same as the Chola country, the language of that part could not be Dravidian, as Uriya is an Aryan language. Again, could Odra be identical with Āndhra? Āndhra is shown in Joppen's 'Historical Atlas of India' in Alexander's time where modern Orissa is, and in the 2nd century A. D. where the present time Central India is. Apte, in his Dictionary, identifies Āndhra with modern Telingana, which bordered on Kalinga (which in the 2nd century A. D. is placed where the present day Orissa is).

Hemachandra, in his *Deśi-nama-mālā*, I—85, gives वडुई as meaning वृषादिमन्त्र. This would well accord with the theory that the name (as shown by the Kanarese terms मण्डु-ओडु and वडु-ओडु) indicated the profession of the class primarily. It is possible also that they gave their name to the countries they settled in, if they did so, considering their migratory habits in the present time. Mārkaṇḍīya, in his *Prākṛit Saṁgraha*, gives ओडुई as a Prākṛit language of Āndhra *deśa*. All these materials furnish sufficient food for investigation, but the main point which I wish to indicate remains unaffected, viz. the light occasionally thrown by single words in their linguistic concatenation on the anthropological side of a country's history.

Lastly, I may indicate the action of another force on the formation of language and literature, viz the occupation of the leading classes of the population of a country. Thus *Shikar*, warfare, nautical life, etc being restricted to a small fraction of the people of Gujarat especially during the latter part of their history, and the connection of this small fraction with literature and linguistic development being very insignificant the Gujarati language exhibits a paucity or absence of words peculiar to these occupations in life. The result is that such words expressions and proverbs are relegated — limited as their existence is — to dialects of small and uncultured classes⁵⁵. Thus the names of the different varieties of birds are extremely few in Gujarati, words connected with mountain life would be a rarity and several words used by nautical people are importations from foreign languages to all appearance. Such are the words

आमेस (करवु) = to hoist,

आरिया (करवु) = to lower

दाढो = the bar at the mouth of a creek or a tidal river.

The last word is from the Marathi दाढा (दाण्डा), in common use in the Konkan districts which abound in creeks and such rivers, while the first two words in daily use amongst the *Kholis* may have come from Arabic or Portuguese sources—a point which requires investigation and which I have not been able to investigate yet.

These observations are enough and we may now go on to (B)—Geographical conditions as acting on the evolution of language and literature. I shall confine myself to Gujarati. The Geographical boundaries of Gujarat are well known,

⁵⁵ This fate has overtaken other vernaculars too wherever the intellectual field has been the monopoly of higher classes. An instance in point may be given. Some time about 1893 A D I asked a Havik Brahmana in N Kanara what the name of a particularly charming singing bird was. His answer was significant — 'How should we know? We are Brahmanas!'

North—As far as Disū—(touching the southern limits of Mīrwar),
 East—The eastern limits of Mahkānthī and western limit of
 Khandesh,
 South—Konkan, beginning from Daman,
 and West—The Arabian Sea, the Gulf of Kachcha, and the Rāpa
 of Kachcha.

As noted behind,⁵⁶ these limits have bounded the province since the time soon following the end of the 16th century A.D. During the centuries preceding that time the limits were varying, but, as we have seen before, the arrangements were simply administrative. During the earlier centuries the linguistic area marked by a common language was more extensive including Rajputānā in its scope.

At present, and during the last two centuries at any rate, the linguistic partitions of Gujarāt have been as under:—

- I. Gujarāt proper, comprizing the districts of Ahmedābād, Kaira, Panch Mahals and the Baroda territory in and about these districts.
- II. Kāthiāvād, i. e. the whole peninsula.
- ⁵⁷ III. South Gujarāt, comprizing the districts of Broach and Surat.

(NOTE:—The Bhil outskirts at the foot of the hills on the East and North-East of Gujarāt must be noted as the country of Bhil language).

This area of the province generally consists of plain country, free from mountains and forests, and has very little sea-board except in parts of the west (Kathīāvād and Surat). Hence, peculiar names of certain birds and animals, features of the hills and the sea, etc. are generally missing in the literature of Gujarāt.

⁵⁶ See Pp. 43-44 *supra*.

⁵⁷. These partitions are indicated on broad lines only. Minor shales are capable of being marked off by distinguishing the language peculiar to Charotar (the portion of Gujarāt lying between the Vātrāk and Mahī rivers), that peculiar to North Gujarāt about Pātāṇa, and again that peculiar to the frontier tract about P'harap.

The physical geographical conditions leaving their effect on the physique and habits of the people also affect the phonetic features of a language. Thus in Gujarati the strong *ḥ* of Hindi is missing as a result of the strong physique and lung-power of the Hindi speaking races contrasted with the inferior physique and power of the Gujaratis.

(NOTE — Two sounds of *ḥ* are mentioned in the Paninīya *Śiṣṭa* : — *औरस्य* and *अण्डस्य*. These may perhaps correspond to the strong and weak *h* sounds in Gujarati⁵⁸ though there appears some slight distinction)

Similarly the *ऐ* and *औ* sounds in Hindi which correspond to the *विवृत ई* and *अर्ध ई* of Gujarati mark a more powerful vocal capacity in the North Hindustani people than that of the Gujaratis.

Then, the accentuation of words which is noticeable in Upper India and to some extent and in a different form in Kathiawada is missing in the language of Gujarat proper and South Gujarat. This accent is not the Vedic accent but a sort of emphasis and stress peculiarly marking certain syllables in words. This condition also is the result of difference in sturdiness of physical condition, the weaker Gujaratis having lost their accentuation, with the loss of physical robustness.

These cursory remarks are enough under this head. The last head (C) Phonetic forces may fitly be reserved for special treatment in the next Lecture.



58 Gujarati does possess these two sounds the weak aspirate being found in *tadblava* words generally. I shall touch this question in a subsequent lecture.

LECTURE III

Phonetic Forces Affecting Language

As promised at the end of the last Lecture, we now examine the phonetic forces which direct the morphological course and constitution of a language. This takes us into the heart of our subject. I shall first indicate a few general principles which govern phonetic formations and mutations, and also the principles which ought to guide us in the study of linguistic development. I take up the latter first. At the outset and as indicating a general outlook on this question, I would draw attention to the great principles enunciated in Dr. Bhândárkar's paper on "The Critical, Comparative and Historical method of Inquiry," (A lecture delivered under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay on 31st March 1888). It will be superfluous to reproduce them fully here. I mention them here only to

Principles to be observed in the study of linguistic development.

mark the fact that they supply the atmosphere in which the principles I am just going to deal with have grown and acquired vitality. (I append at the end of this lecture a Note giving pertinent extracts from the pamphlet.) To come to these principles at once, then, the first one I would recommend is

I. HISTORICAL CONSISTENCY.

By this I mean that every attempted derivation of a word should be consistent with facts arrived at independently by history. Failure to respect this principle will lead us into error. Take for instance the word तमा (Gujarātī). I have indicated in my last lecture its derivation from the Portuguese 'ta'aro'; and promised to examine a fictitious etymology claimed for it.¹ This artificial derivation is from तमा (Sanskrit). Now, the facts established by history are that tobacco was first brought into Europe from America in 1559 A. D.² and into India by the Portuguese after

1. See P. 59 *supra*, text and footnote 48.

2. Tobacco was found in smoking use amongst the American Indians at the discovery of America by Columbus. In 1559 A. D. a

But Mr Rây also relies on the *Kulîrnara tantra* (कुलार्णवतन्त्र) which names as smoking drugs कालूट, ताम्रूट, धूम्रूट—and अहिपेन. The word ताम्रूट amongst these is taken by him to mean tobacco. Is there any basis for this meaning? The *Amarkośa* does not give the word, and, according to one view *Amara* flourished about the 11th Century of the Christian era. However we may accept that ताम्रूट was a smoking drug, and also we may not trouble ourselves about the genuineness or otherwise of the passage in *Kulîrnara tantra* but the identification of ताम्रूट with tobacco cannot be justified. For the greatest objection to this derivation of तमाकू (Guj), तमाकू (Guj and Bangal), exists in phonetic improbability. The word ताम्रूट can become, in its Prâkrit or modern vernacular form either तम्बूट⁵ or तम्बगड, or तम्बउड, or तम्बोड, but in no case can the final ट (or ड) be elided. It would be against all known rules of phonetics. It is also worthy of note that although the various so called conflicting meanings of the word, *tobacco*, divide themselves under three heads—(1) the name of the plant, (2) the name of the island or province from which it came and (3) the name of the pipe or tube used in smoking the drug, the probability is that the last⁶ meaning was the real one and European travellers easily misunderstood it as the name

5 The retention of क is really doubtful. Philology is a science, and therefore it is very jealous of its details. It cannot afford to ignore the smallest detail. A well recognized basis of all philological derivation is that every member of a word must be accounted for, either in the word of origin or in the derived word as also in the intermediate steps. It is thus that दाह could not give दाहनी, the नी remaining unaccounted for, and दाहकि is accepted as the source-word. This principle makes Mr. Benares raise a query as to the च in चरितु remaining unexplained in the fanciful derivation (चरितुर्जन) given by himself, (See his Vol I, Pp 343-276, also Vol III, P 65). In the present case क in the derived word and ल in the source-word remain unaccounted for.

6 The *Encyclopædia Britannica* accepts this last meaning alone. It states that the name *tobacco* did not originally signify the drug or plant but came to be applied to the plant and the drug from a peculiar instrument used for inhaling its smoke by the inhabitants of Hispaniola (San Domingo). It was a Y shaped hollow wooden tube, the two ends

of the drug itself. This itself would be fatal to the ताम्रट्ठ theory. Equally fatal would be the second meaning, viz. the drug being named after the place of its origin. Again, it is extremely improbable that ताम्रट्ठ in India and tobacco in far off distant South America should resemble each other phonetically even in a way. Such similitude would be possible in the case of words connected with simple and primitive household life, such as मा, पा &ca, but not in the case of words expressing articles incidental to a comparatively higher stage of human evolution. We need not consider the possible argument that there may have been communication between ancient India and America and that may account for the community of this smoking article between the two continents. For it rests on unscientific methods of reasoning. But even if that possibility is accepted, the phonetic difficulty noted above is a fatal bar to the derivation. As a matter of fact, as a result of being a comparatively recent foreign importation, various artificial Sanskrit forms for the word have been coined, viz. ताम्रट्ठ and तमागु as in तमागुपत्रं राजेन्द्रभजनमाजानशयकम्।⁷

This much is sufficient. The next principle I recommend is
II Distrust of ex- **II. DISTRUST OF MERE EXTERNAL**
ternal Similarity. **SIMILARITY OF SOUND.**

This warning is very necessary, for we are very often tempted to be misled by external similarity. (1) The word ताम्रट्ठ just now discussed is one of several instances of this kind. Some other instances may be given to elucidate this principle.—

(2) अश्लील—from अश्लिषेत् and अश्लेत् (Sanskrit).

of the forks were inserted in the nose, and the end of the single stem was held over the smoke of burning tobacco, and thus it was inhaled,—a regular शशी like process.

7. I pass over Mr. Bly's reliance on an extract from Prof. Hadley's "Head Hunters" which states that tobacco was smoked a little and was grown by the Indian Archipelago Islanders of Papua and New Guinea, before the white men came. It is inconclusive so far as the question of tobacco being indigenous in India is concerned.

Now opium was known to Theophrastus ⁸ and about 77 A D Dioscorides distinguished between an extract of the entire herb and the more active *στος* derived from the capsule alone From the 1st to the 12th century the opium of Asia Minor was the only kind known in commerce In the 16th century opium is mentioned by Pyres (1516 A D) as a production of the Kingdom of Cons (Kuch Bihar S W of Bhutan) in Bengal and of Malv The Arabs introduced opium into China during the reign of Taitso about 1280 95 A D Its introduction into India is believed to be connected with the spread of Islam ⁸

If these facts are accepted the Sanskrit words अहिषेन and अषेन can hardly be regarded as correct derivations of the word अफीण It is possible to argue that if opium was known in Greece as early as 77 A D it is not unlikely that it was known to India as well during these times and possibly earlier and the fact that अहिषेन and अषेन have found place in some Sanskrit dictionaries of present times may lend color to the contention But before we accept this view we are entitled to hesitate as the connection between अफीण and its alleged Sanskrit equivalents rests on mere external similarity ⁹ And there are strong reasons for much hesitation

First—the word in Gujar ti is अफीण and the Sanskrit equivalents attempt a dangerously close and analytical resemblance in sound and imaginary sense—अ+फीण (=foam)—the dictionaries describe अहिषेन as opium the saliva or venom of a snake, and there is no sense ¹⁰ in calling opium the foam (saliva) of a snake

8 Encyclopædia Britannica (Ninth Edition), Vol XVII, 787 d

9 *Dhacaprakāśa Rāya Varāṇasī* and *Śīr galāra* are quoted from as mentioning opium in various names अषेन अहिषेन and आफूक We have however to test these mentions in the independent light of comparative philology

10 An attempt is made in the *Śābha Kalyāṇa drama* of R'dhā Kintadeva Baladur to patch up the sense thus—अहे सर्पस्य पेन मरुतिनः अखुमत्वाद्॥ Its artificiality is obvious

and the *हि* seems to be interpolated simply to give some semblance of a sense, अ (not) + *वेन* meaning absolutely nothing.¹¹

Secondly—The Gujarātī word is अफीण but in Marāṭhī it is आफू,¹² which is nearer ‘opium,’ अफीम (Hindustānī), अस्फन् (Arabic and Persian), ὀπιον (ओपियान्-Greek), and it lends a strong light of probability to the belief that opium came to India with Islam. It at once shows the whole course of the word’s march: अस्फन् (Persian), अफीम (Hindustānī), the *य* passing through a process like संप्रसारण and becoming इ and the ऊ yielding its length to the इ, both resulting in a long ई, and the final न् changed to म् (such changes of nasals being well-known¹³); then it branches off, in one direction to अफीण in Gujarātī which preserves the original न (only changing it to ण, as it always happens in the case of transition from Prākṛit), and drops the इ; and in another direction to आफू in Marāṭhī which drops the final nasal and ignoring the ए emphasizes the ऊ as a final syllable. (The change of the initial अ to आ is peculiar to Marāṭhī—e.g. आवुभर, आनमान, आरमास &c. as spoken by certain classes).

And Thirdly and lastly—the Greek derivation leading up to ὀρός (ओरास) meaning ‘vegetable juice, sap,’ affords a fitness in sense which is infinitely better than the idea of a snake’s foam, saliva, venom,—obviously far-fetched and artificial.

These considerations should justify us in looking askance at the Sanskritized form अहिपेन or अपेन which must be set down as unreal, even though opium had comparatively ancient existence in India.

11. The *Sāda-Kalpa druma* has also for अफेन a laboured and artificial explanation—निर्मिदं पेनं निर्वृत्तो दस्य दत्तः। This sense-निर्मिदं or अनदिरूप of अ out of the six senses of न् can fairly be given to word like अवीन, अरूप &c., it does not fit in here.

12. *Madcapulda* is said to mention आफू. But there can hardly be any doubt as to this name being manufactured from the popular word अफू derived from अस्फन्.

13. See वाचस्पत्यु (P. 20) by Mr. Keshavalal H. Dhruva.

(8) **सुपारो** (Gujarātī)—In this word many people are tempted to see a combination of सु (=good)+पारो (=a rule). This is simply a fallacious similarity in externals. The correct derivation is from सुप्—(Sanskrit) meaning 'to improve'—Gujarātī सुप्- (not used by itself)+आरो—a Gujarātī termination which is found in वपारो from वृष् 'to increase', लपारो from लृप् 'to prattle', and the like, probably derived from पार¹⁴. "Thus, the correct opposite word to सुपारो is not कुपारो (कु=bad+पारो) which people believing in the above false derivation use, but बगाडो (from बगडवु, causal बगाडवु, Hindi बिगडना=to get spoilt,—probably from Sanskrit विषद्).¹⁵

(4) **देवालय** is wrongly stated as the derivation of देवळ. The word देव being easily understood, the explanation for ळ must have been sought for erroneously in आलय (देव+आलय=देवालय). If we just consider for one moment, we should find that the Prakrit form of this word would be simply देवालभ (देवालयम्). It cannot correctly come to be देवलम्¹⁶. The correct derivation is देवकुळ (Sanskrit), which according to सि.दे. VIII-1-27 optionally drops the व and becomes देवळ. The व of this is turned into ळ in coming into

14 सुपारवु is a causal of सुपारवु, and वपारवु that of वपवु. In the latter case the आर is a causal termination and वपारो may be regarded as a noun from that. In the former, however, the original root सुप् seems to have been created from the causal looking सुपारवु, in a different way. If this view is accepted, the termination आरो in सुपारो, वपारो would not be a वृत् termination. But there are other words like कपारो, धूपारो &c which cannot stand except on the basis of the वृत् termination, आरो.

15 Dr Bhāndarkar derives the word from विषद् (See his Philological Lectures, P 141). I say probably, because an initial वृ is not changed to व in Gujarātī, as a rule. But we can regard this as a word taken from Hindi.

16 Mr Beames in his learned and extremely useful work ('A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India' Vol. II p 10) derives this word from देवालय. I see no reason to agree with him, however, although he gives देवाळ (Panjabī) which *prima facie* would support his derivation. At best Panjabī may have got its word from देवालय while देवल was derived out of देवकुळ under well recognized phonetic laws.

Gujarātī under the operation of an *वृत्तग* which marks an anti-*samprasāraṇa* process. (I shall deal with this *वृत्तग* later on in the next lecture).

Thus we get *देवडे*—*देवड*.

(b) *व्यापार* (Sanskrit) is another fallacious derivation, for *व्येपार* (Gujarātī). The fault will be visible at once when we consider—

- (a) that the *प* in *व्यापार* cannot possibly remain unchanged but must either become *व* or be elided;
- (b) that *व्यापार* in Sanskrit never means what *व्येपार* in Gujarātī does. *व्येपार* is 'trade' or 'commerce;' while *व्यापार* in Sanskrit is simply 'occupation, engagement;'
- and (c) the *सिद्ध* sound of *प* in *व्येपार* can be accounted for by the *अप* left after *व्यप* becomes *वप* and *व* merges with the *ह*, in *व्यपहार*; in *व्यापार* there is no such thing to account for it:—*व्यपहार*—*वपहारो*—*वपहहारो*—*वहहार*; then the *ह* is thrown back and we have *व्येपार* (a Gujarātī word meaning—relation, communication &c). Curiously the *व* is turned into *प* either by false analogy with *व्यापार*, or by a reverse relation to *प* (cf. Beames, Vol. I, P. 330, where he traces the changes of *म* to *प* through *व*). The latter is more probable; for in *पदमणी* (dual), *पद्मणी* (Prākṛit),—*पादप*—*पापप* we have this change of *व* to *प*.

The correct word for trade in Sanskrit is *व्यपहार*, and *व्येपार* (Gujarātī) is to be traced from that word.¹⁷

A significant light is thrown on this derivation by the fact that Padmanibha, in his *Kāśhādīti Prabandha* uses the word *विरदारिया* in the sense of traders, merchants:

विरदारिया वमह याजीया (IV-12)

विरदारिया मरि तद्गुम्बा (IV-228)

Compare also the following:—

17. Mr. Beames (Vol. I, P. 331) derives *व्येपार* from *व्यपार*. I do not agree with him, for the reasons detailed above.

(1) तिहां महाधन श्रेष्ठ एहवइ नामे विवहारिउ वसइ

(*Vaitāla-pancharāṣṭī*, Prose, P. 107; V. S. 1629 or thereabouts).

(2) वदेवारीयो तो अचरज पाम्यो, आठ्यु मनमां वहाड

(*Rāvo Bhakta*; *Br. Kāvya-Dohana* V, P. 826).

This will show that the evolutes of व्यवहार (व्यावहारिक) have been in vogue from the sixteenth century down to recent centuries.

(6) विनंति (Gujarāṭī) is wrongly derived from विनति (Sanskrit) simply on the strength of outward similarity. विनति does not mean 'a request,' which is the meaning of 'विनंति.' Besides, the strong अनुस्वार in नं cannot be accounted for if विनति is taken as the original word.

The correct derivation is from विप्रति which means 'a request' (exactly the meaning of विनंति), and its Prākṛit form विण्णत्ति which in coming into Gujarāṭī (and Marāṭhī) becomes विनत्ति and then विनंति, the conjunct consonant त्त being simplified into simple त, the preceding vowel instead of being lengthened, takes a strong अनुस्वार, as in the case of वंके from वक्रं &c.. वक्रादि गण which सि. दे. VIII-i-26 mentions in this connection is to be regarded either as an आकृतिगण,¹⁸ or as a type which is followed further on in the course of transition into Gujarāṭī, as happens in the case of many *utsargas*. In fact there are a number of Gujarāṭī words which take such an अनुस्वार and are yet outside the वक्रादिगण as enumerated in the grammar specifically; e. g.

Sanskrit	Apabhramśa	Gujarāṭī
मकंदकः	मकडड—मैकडो—	मांकडो
छिद्रकं	छिद्वं—छिडवं—	छीड्वं
पंथी	पंथी	पंथी
पंथः	पंथु—पंथु—	पंथ
पंथकः	पंथड—पंथड—	पंथो (=a fan)
पटः	पटड—पंडु—	उंट
	&c. &c.	

18. For at the end of the गण the word इत्यादि is added, -in the gloss of the *sūtra*. This is to be inferred constructively because no specific statement is made of its being an आकृतिगण.

[NOTE—Dr. Bhindarkar has derived *मिर्चि* (Mirchi) from *मिर्चि*. See his *Philological Lectures*, P. 177.]

(7) *कारभार* (Gujarātī)—is derived by some from (Sanskrit) *कार्यभार*, simply on external analogy, but ignoring the fact that *कार्यभार* would become *कर्मभारो* or *कर्महारो* in Prākṛit. It could not have come direct, as sometimes words do, for even in that case *वार* would not be the resulting form. *वार* is distinctly Persian—of course allied to Sanskrit *वार्य*, but Persian, as it is, 'all the same, and *कारोवार* (Persian) is a well-known word and we need not feel any loss of dignity in accepting it as the parent of *कारभार* (Gujarātī). The change of *व* to *भ* in *वार* appears to be the result of the Gujarātī word *भार* being very familiar.

(8) *पसंद*—is an undoubtedly Persian word and quite in familiar use in Gujarātī. Yet there are occasional attempts to connect it with Sanskrit *प्रसन्न*. In this case, to the offence of following external similarity is added that of ignoring the radical difference between the meanings of the two words; *पसंद* having an objective sense and *प्रसन्न* a subjective one; (*पसंद* refers to the thing that pleases, *प्रसन्न* to the person pleased). To say *दुःखं यो नृपः स्वयं* *पसंद* *करोति* can be understood, but *दुःखं यो नृपः स्वयं* *प्रसन्न* *करोति* would be absurd on the face of it, if the sense to be conveyed is that in the former sentence.

(9) *रोहद*—is the name of a Taluka town in the Panch Mahāls. The derivation of this word is subjected by some people to an external analytical treatment on the strength of external analogy, just as is done with the word *सुपारी*, they split it up into *रो* and *हद*, and believe that the town is so named because it stands on the common boundary of two provinces, Gujarāt and Mālwa (*रो*=two, and *हद*=boundary). Nothing could be more artificial. The correct¹⁹ derivation is from *रुपिद*—(Prākṛit) *रुपिद-रुपिद-रुपिद* which is the name really current in the country, *रोहद* being manufactured subsequently to suit the artificial derivation. (Even now

19. This derivation was first pointed out by the late H. H. Dhruva (See *Deccan Herald*, A.D. 1893 April).

दहिवद is the name used by local residents and others, belonging to certain classes). There is a Dahivad in the Chhindvad Taluka of the Nasik District, and the second member वद (from Sanskrit पद=a village, Prākṛit वद्) is to be found in the names of a number of towns and villages, e g. इळवद, नडियाद (from नदपद), चढोदण (from चदपद, here the पद has retained and split off its र), नांदोद (नन्दपद).

(10-, (11), and (12) — Similar false analysis of externals is wrongly resorted to in the case of पापड, माशी and आजो पापड is split up into पा+पड (one quarter (पा) of a layer (पड) because it is so thin), when in fact it is from पर्पट a possible *desya* word Sanskritized and originally coined on the basis of the crackling sound the article makes when being eaten माशी is similarly split up into मा+शी (=मा जेयी, as good as a mother), when really it is from मातृप्लवा (Sanskrit), मातृसिआ²⁰ (Prākṛit), (cf मावशी Marāṭhī).

[Note — The absence of a masculine from मावशी in Marāṭhī to denote a मावशी's husband, is due to this derivation, where it is inherently impossible to say मावसा The Gujarati मासो (=माशी's husband) is obviously²¹ a manufactured masculine based on misconception.]

आजो—(the *Śrāddha* ceremony of one's maternal grandfather) is similarly subjected to the splitting process—आ+जा, i e come and go, being welcome and at the same time unwelcome, the reason being that this *Śrāddha* can be performed only when the father of the grandson is alive This derivation is at once knocked on the head when we see that the word comes from आयं (Sanskrit), अजो (Prākṛit), (cf आज्ञा Marāṭhī, wherein it signifies a paternal grand father equally)

20 See *Siddha Hemacandra* VIII : 134

21 'Karpūra manjarī' (P 32, Harvard Edition) has मातृच्छमो व मातृसिओ, मातृसिओ (=माशी's husband) Evidently this artificial manufacture then is as old as Rājasekhara (about 900 A D) It should be remembered that Rājasekhara's dramatic Prākṛit seems too often artificial and manufactured

III ARTIFICIALITY OF DERIVATION TO BE AVOIDED.

III Artificiality of derivation to be avoided.

This principle is, in a way, part of the principle just mentioned above; but it admits of separate consideration, as its scope does not always coincide with that of the last named principle. Only two instances may be given here:

(1) विधवा—The general belief is that this word comprizes two parts, वि and धवा (=a husband); "one who is deprived of her husband." But comparative philology discloses the fact that *vidua* in Latin is one compact word and there is no possibility of that word being split up into *vi* and *dua*. The inference is that *vidua* (Lat.) and विधवा (Sanskrit) came from a common source, and the derivation वि+धवा was artificially created.²²

(2) दम्पती, meaning husband and wife, is derived very artificially by Śāyānāchārya and others from जाया+पतिः and दम् is here regarded by a mere fiction as a form of जाया. It really has no such sense, nor is the phonetic change possible. On the other hand, modern scholars are agreed that the Vedic दम्=a house (Lat. *domus*) is represented here by दम्, दम्पती meaning the two masters of the house; viz., the husband and wife.

IV. BREVITY or लघुत्व.

IV. Brevity. This is an important principle but a good deal depends upon the interpretation one puts upon this term. अर्धमात्राद्यप्येव पुनोत्तरं मध्यमे वैयकरणः is a parallel

22. *Widuer* and विधुः may be compared. The latter derived from वि+धुः must be as artificial as वि+धा=विधा. The *er* in *widuer* must be some form corresponding to the *u* of विधुः and not the usual English termination, possessive, active or the like. Lat. *viduus*= 'lacking' is regarded as a word coined out of *vidua* viewed as an adjective meaning 'widowed,' 'deprived'; a masculine word created from the feminine form. The Century Dictionary suggests 'विधा' is probably from the root *वि* to lack. I find no such meaning of वि. M. Williams conjectures *वि* to be the root. विधुः bears the primary sense of "afflicted" and then indirectly "a widower." There is the word विधुः which Śāyana renders as "a widow." Thus a decisive light is thrown against the artificial derivation as वि+धा and वि+धुः.

which has its own application and scope. How far it can be adopted in the field of comparative philology is a matter for serious consideration. I shall therefore analyze this principle in its application in our field of inquiry, with a view to go to the root of the thing. Brevity or *उपव*, then, has two distinct applications

- (1) The fewer the steps through which one has to pass, the greater the brevity. This may be called *व्रमलापव* or *the brevity of steps*. This kind of *उपव* has its applicability in subjects like mathematics, logic and all subjects where fixed factors of a special final shape find play.
- (2) The discovery of the fewest common principles which run through a number of different particular cases, the reducing of many into one, is the function of the second kind of *उपव*. It may be called *बीजलापव* or *the brevity of principle*. This form of *उपव* has its applicability in subjects like history, study of language and the like, where vital progress and evolution are the active factors. *व्रमलापव* can have no place in such studies. For instance, we cannot insist that the human race should have passed through the fewest number of steps in going from one stage of evolution to another, or that the words in a language should undergo the fewest changes in reaching their final shape.

In both the kinds of *उपव* economy is the underlying factor, but while in *व्रमलापव* there is economy of effort or energy, in *बीजलापव* there is economy of material. It is very rarely and in quite a secondary manner that *व्रमलापव* can have any influence in the study of the growth of language. To attempt to introduce the test of *व्रमलापव* in inquiries where *बीजलापव* is the proper test is like trying to measure grain with a yard measure instead of with a bushel. Of course the distinction between the two kinds of *उपव* is with regard to the application of principles for even in subjects like mathematics, philosophy and science, and such inquiries into the inner nature of things the process of unification and reduction to a common principle is always resorted to. The

subject of grammar admits of both the principles, *बीजलापर* and *व्रमलापर*—more or less. It is there that the *अभेदाश्रयापर* *paribhāṣit* is regarded as the pet principle of *Vaiyākaranas* (grammarians).

A few instances in the case of linguistic derivation, will make the above remarks clear.—

- (a) *बरोद* (the name in Gujarati of Baroda, the capital of the *Gujarat*). An artificial derivation of this is *बरोद* (*बट+उद*). Of course this requires the fewest number of steps in phonological change, and, if *व्रमलापर* were our testing principle, we should at once accept this derivation. But a wide survey of words and a search for common underlying factors, in short, the test of *बीजलापर*, will disclose to us the correct derivation *बटपद*, which shares the factor *पट* (=a village, a town) in common with *घाणोद*, *नादोद*, *नदियार*, *दळार* &c.

[I actually find such an attempt as *बट+उद* in an old publication, named *Apabhraṣṭa Śabda chandrikā* by Prabhakara Parichandra Pandit of Baroda (A. D. 1878). It is an etymological vocabulary of Marathi words. Against the word, *बरोद* he gives as under —

“बरोद, बट+उद, पूर्वो वडाची माडी या शहराच्या आसपास वार दोती म्हणून हें नाव”

Luckily, however, he adds — “कोठें बटपट्ट असें हि आदळन.”]

- (b) *दादोद*—The derivation *दो+उद* would be pleasing to worshippers of *व्रमलापर* but, for²³ reasons given just above in the case of *बरोद*, *दपिपद* will be accepted as the correct origin in pursuance of the principle of *बीजलापर*.
- (c) *बायण*—*बारण* (=a door). The advocates of *व्रमलापर* would derive this from *बारण* ('a thing which shuts off, prevents'), the only change necessitated being *व* to *ब*.

But we can at once see that *द्वार* which “alternately becomes *दर* and *बार* in Prakrit, supplies *दर* to Marathi and *बार*” as well as *बारण* to Gujarati (*बार* being peculiar to Kathiawar) thus supplying a common factor in two vernaculars

²³ See also *Prakrit Grammar* II-(9) a) 1.

²⁴ *बारण* would have this *दर* as well as *द्वार*. This is an example of the fallacy of the *derivation*. Again an initial *व* is not charged

The *यु* added to *वार* is a change from *इ* of the *ह* termination so very frequent in *Apabhramśa* and Gujarati (corresponding to the *य* termination of Sanskrit)

[The change of *द* to *ण* is noticed in words like

(1) कदिदोरो—कडदोरो—कणदोरो—कंदोरो (=a waist band).
(cf Marathi कडदोरा)

(2) कुडुम्बी (Sanskrit)—कुडुम्बी (Prakrit)—कुळवी, कुणवी (Marathi)—कणवी (Gujarati)

(3) ततुक्क —(*Apabhramśa*) ततुड्ड (Gujarati) तातणो

(4) पडचा (Deśya) पणळ (Gujarati).

The reverse process is seen in the form आपड्ड (*G*) from आपण (*G*) thus evidencing the affinity between *ह* and *ण* the latter being nasalized *ह*. I find in the *Dodlaka kriti* (copied in V S 1672) अपड्ड (on *S. H. VIII-iv-367*) as also अपणण्ड (on *S. H. VIII-iv-350*) it would seem the change is at least as old as V S 1672]

(d) न्हातु (Gujarati)—furnishes a very powerful instance of बीजलक्ष, thus—Sanskrit न्दण has two alternative Prakrit forms—लण्ड and सण्ड, through the former we have (through नण्ड) the Gujarati न्हातु and Marathi लहान, while through the latter we get the Sindhi सण्डो²⁵ (=thin), Kanarese सण्ण (=small), and Konkani साण (=small)

(लहान सडान—a double barrelled²⁶ Marathi word so also the Gujarati न्हातुसडु seem to possess the representatives of both the Prakrit forms लण्ड and सण्ड)

to *व* in Gujarati (The case of *द्वार-वार* is different as the *व* there is not purely initial) Then a minor flaw is that *द्वार* really means a doorway while *वारण*, if any such word existed for it, would signify 'the leaf of a door'

25 There is another word in Sindhi नडो=Young this comes from लण्ड, the alternative to सण्ड. The *ह* of लण्ड aspirates the *ण* peculiarly and gives लण्ड just as चिह becomes चिच optionally (सि हे VIII-ii-50)

Mr Beames is hardly correct in tracing this Sindhi नडो to Sanskrit नन्द (—a son) —See his Vol I P 330 नन्द by the way does not mean 'a son' नन्दन does

26 Cf Gujarati डोरडावर, राचरचीडु, माणसकूणस, गुपचूप, छानुमानु, दोसाडगर्ग,

Thus a common factor is found pervading in as many as five languages,—Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Kānaḍī (Kannarese), Sindhī, and Konkani, by taking *अङ्ग* as the derivative, and, farther, even the second members of the double-barrelled words, *उद्गान उद्गान* and *उद्गानं उद्गानं*, are also explained satisfactorily and referred to a common origin. Here is a pre-eminent instance of *बीजछापर*.²⁷

- (c) *बेसतुं* (Gujarātī)—The late Śītrī Vrajalī Kālidās²⁸ and some present day scholars who should have known better, derive this word from the pure root *विष्* (Sanskrit),—ignoring the fact that *विष्* means 'to enter' whereas *बेसतुं* signifies 'to sit.'²⁹ They seem to be attracted by the *बमछापर* in the change of *य* to *ब* and *इ* to *ए* (*य* to *यू* being of course added). But the correct derivation from *वसविष्* (=to sit) will furnish a common factor between (1) *वसविमिनि* (Sanskrit), *वसविमह* (Prākṛit),

बसुं बसुं &c. &c. &c. There are a number of such double barrelled words in Gujarātī, as there are similar ones in Marāṭhī.

27. Hemachandra derives *सुह* from *सुहम* also (सि. हे. VIII ii 75 and VIII-i-118). But the facts that in both these *sūtras* *सुहम* is the only word for which provision is made and that the naturally evolved form of *सुहम*, viz. *सुहुम* (through *सुहं*) is put down by him as *Ārsha*, lead me to suspect that having found *सुह* and *सुह* both in actual use in the books, and in the sense of 'fine,' he overlooked his own *sūtras* (VIII-ii-77, and 79) giving *सुह* as well as *सुह* from *सुह*, and felt himself under the necessity of deriving the *सुह* and *सुह* from *सुहम*. Otherwise the *उ* in *सुह* could easily have been accounted for by the principle underlying his *sūtras* VIII, i 52 to 55.

If, however, we accept *सुह* as derived from *सुहम*, the *सुनुं* in the Gujarātī double word, *सुनुं सुनुं*, can be traced to this source; the combination of *सुह* and *सुहम* in *सुह सुह* would be like Gujarātī *बडीबुगडी*, *बमबम* &c., where words of the same sense make up the double word.

28. See his *उत्तरमंथन* P. 114 (1870 A.D.-edition). The late Navahīra Lakshminārāyana too has followed Vrajalī Śītrī in this matter. (See his *सुनदिसह*, भाग 9, P. 66)

29. Mr. Keshavalal H. Dikruva has tried to get over this fairly by advancing the theory that *उ* is dropped from *वसविष्* *सुह* then *विष्*

उपविशद्, उपविशद्, चरिम्—रि (Gujarati)³⁰ on the one hand, and (Sanskrit) प्रविशति (= enters), Prakrit पविशद्—पविशद्—पवि (Gujarati) on the other

changes to वेस् See the Preface to his translation of गीतगोविन्द, 2nd Edition, where (at P 16) he says —

“उपरंत पहेला सर्गना चोधा प्रबंधमां निध्यायति ने स्थाने ध्यायति अने सातमा सर्गना चोधा प्रबंधमां नि श्वसिति ने स्थाने श्वसिति वापर्यांछे, ते गुजरातीमां उपविश ने स्थाने घेसे वगेरे वपरायछे ते ज मुजरा प्रावृत्तप्रक्रिया अनुसार वापर्यांछे. आरी ज रीते वारमा सर्गना पहेला प्रबंधमां परिचरण ने स्थाने चरण वापरेंछे जोनामां आवेछे. आ प्रयोगो देखीता संस्कृत प्रक्रिया निरुद्ध ज छे.”

Mr Keshavlal Dhruva suggests here in his concise style of discourse, that some roots with *upasargas* in passing into Prakrit, drop their prefixes and yet retain the sense modified by the prefixes, उपविश being (according to him) an instance in point. Whatever truth there may be in this theory of his (giving only one instance, which, by the way, is wrong), this much is certain that उपविश is not an instance in point.

I acknowledge that in the 3rd and 4th Editions Mr K H Dhruva has abandoned this instance (उपविश) and brought in निशामद्—समिद्ध (G.) as a supporting instance, and he further refers us to his Notes on Bhāṇu's *Kadambari* Note on P 69, l 13, where the instances given are सर्वथ—वधर (G.), निमि—मेळ (G.), निपद्—रोड (G.), निर्गमय—गमाव, गुमाव (G.), अविवाहय—हा (G.), वि+अद्—डंन (G.), सवन्न—दन (G.), &c, and adds विश्वय—सम्पुं (G.), परिवस्—वासी (G.), (पर्युक्ति). This is not the place to examine each of these instances in detail, but an intelligent glance shows each and all to be far fetched, fanciful and unwarranted examples.

In any case, the objections shown by me in the text apply to the treatment of वेसुं on Mr. K H Dhruva's lines also.

30 The justification of this derivation and the reasons for discarding the derivation from विद् stand on independent grounds also. These are briefly —

- (1) That विद् does not mean 'to sit,' but 'to enter',—whereas उपविश means 'to sit' (वेसुं);
- (2) That the विद् sound in वे of वेसुं can not be explained if विद् alone is taken as the source-word, whereas it can be accounted for by the अद् in वरिम् which is obtained by the dropping of the unaccepted initial उ of उवदिम्, or
- (3) That the change of व to व does not occur in Gujarati when the

- (1) **कणवी**—The worshippers of **कमलाकर** find an easy road to this word through **कण** (=grain) and **वी** (=seed) a convenient but obviously artificial derivation. But the Sanskrit **कृदम्बी** (=peasant)¹¹ furnishes a better etymology wherein the Marathi **कृदम्बी** **कणवी** can be accommodated together with the Gujarati **कणवी** under a common principle the **ळ** and the **ड** being not easy to account for by **कण** in the artificial derivation. Besides, the application of **बीजनाम** is in this instance, carried further by the discovery of a common principle as regards the sense of the word in the far off English language which has the word 'husbandman' meaning (1) The master of a family and (2) A Farmer, a cultivator,—the first member of which (**वि** 'husband') means—the master of a family or house' and also 'A male head of a household a manager of domestic concerns' and also 'a cultivator', and is derived from **ह्य** = 'a house' and **लन्दा** = 'a loor' a 'peasant'.

is in italics when it is metalingual and that too in a different number of words. (There are a few apparent exceptions)

Mr. Deanes too has run into strange derivations of **बटो**, **बसु** at one time correctly deriving them from **उपविष्ट**—**उपविष्ट**, again from **विष्ट** alone and once from an imaginary Sanskrit root **बम्**! (See his Vol I I 179, Vol III, P 38, Vol I I 167) This will be dealt with in a note more fully in the next lecture.)

31. Observe —(a) **बामवि शिवनामाय दत्तवृद्धये न भेटते ।**

सत्यवन्ति न येनो बीजभेदिकुटुम्बिनाम् ॥

(A quotation seen by me in the certificate granted by an Imperial Institution in the Central Provinces)

(b) **कृदम्बी कर्षक धेनी हली कृषिकर्षकी ।**

कृषाभेदिके (411 P. 100 C7 न. 100) of H. 100 P. 100 III 534)

(c) **कृषुम सुर्वी भेटमा न व (क) कृद्वी जेम ।**

सत्यवन्ति न येनो बीजभेदिकुटुम्बिनाम् ॥

(Al. 100 P. 100 C7 न. 100) of H. 100 P. 100 III 534)

The **ब** in **सत्यवन्ति** comes from **सत्यवन्ति** and **लन्दा** = 'a loor' a 'peasant'.

(g) अजीङ् (Gujarāṭi).—Hindi जङ्ग.

An attempt is made to derive these words from जुष्टं (Sanskrit). No doubt, this would secure क्रमलाघव, as जुष्टं—जुष्टुं—जुङ्गे involve but two steps (ष्ट to ण and the dropping of ण and lengthening of the preceding vowel उ), but the final stage अजीङ् will require two further steps, (1) the change of ऊ to ई, and (2) the addition of अ at the beginning. But we find in the word, उच्छिष्टं (=leavings of eaten food), the true source-word; for it accounts for the Marāṭhī उष्टे, Hindi जङ्ग, and Gujarāṭi अजीङ् simultaneously thus:—

Gujarāṭi—अजीङ्.—(Sanskrit) उच्छिष्टं, (Prākṛit) उच्छिष्टं—(संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व) उच्छिष्टं—(छ to ज) उजीङ्, (उ to अ) अजीङ्; Marāṭhī—उष्टे—(Sanskrit) उच्छिष्टं, (Prākṛit) उच्छिष्टं—mixing up of छि and ण, resulting in the change of छ to प—उष्टे; Hindi जङ्ग—(Sanskrit) उच्छिष्टं—(Prākṛit) उच्छिष्टं—उजीङ् (as in Gujarāṭi); (unaccented initial vowel dropped) जीङ्ग, (ई to ऊ, स्वराणांस्वराः) जुङ्ग.³²

I may observe incidentally that जुप् does not bear in Sanskrit any meaning which would come near उच्छिष्टम्. Pāṇini's धातुपाठ and Vrajālī Śīstri's धातुसंग्रह (which is compiled from Pāṇini's, Hemachandra's and Bopadeva's works) give प्रीति, सेवन; परितर्कण परितपण;—प्रेम करवो, सेवतुं; तर्ककरवो, हणतुं, मृत्त करवुं, as the meanings.

Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar derives जङ्ग from उत्सृष्टकं (Wilson Philological Lectures, P. 165). But I have a reason for preferring उच्छिष्टकं, which will be soon stated under another head, (VI, below).

I need not multiply instances to illustrate this principle of बीजलाघव.

V. ADHERENCE TO HISTORICAL ORDER.

In this I include the recognition of the Prākṛits that have intervened between Sanskrit and our present day

V. Adherence to historical order. vernaculars in the course of their evolution. It won't do, for instance, to jump at once from Sanskrit to the vernaculars and ignore the intermediate Prākṛit steps. Such a course would be क्रमलाघव with a vengeance.'

One result of such ignoring is that several writers in their

32. Or, better still,—(ई to ऊ as a reflex of the initial उ) उङ्ग, then जङ्ग.

devotion to Sanskrit write स्मृजुं for स्मृजुं, प्रवट for प्रवट &c., in the face of the facts that the words actually in use in Gujarātī are स्मृजुं, प्रवट &c., and that in coming from the Sanskrit originals स्मृ becomes स्म, व् becomes व् and the र् in प्र is retained under the well-known *Apathrasa* influence.

Again, it was through this sort of ignoring of the intermediate Prākṛit stage that the late Navalram Lakshminram in his *व्युत्पत्तिपाठ* derived words like स्मृजो, आक &c. direct from स्मृ, भर्क &c; and वसु direct from वसन्ता, (not through वृत्ता and then, by the loss of the aspirate, वसा). (See his *व्युत्पत्तिपाठ*, P. 70, उदाहरणं 22).

Finally, the absurdity to which this ignorance can be carried may be seen in the derivation by some one of the word बहेन from भगिनी thus :—

भ becomes ब, गि becomes हे, and नी becomes न !

I need not dwell at any further length on this head.

VI. ACTUAL USE IN LANGUAGE.

This principle can be applied on the one hand to the

VI. Actual use in language. question regarding the derived languages (as in the case of स्मृजुं, प्रवट &c., noticed above; and so far this principle and the last one are linked

together), and, on the other hand, to the language of origin. Thus, take the word उद्गृह्य from which गृह्य is derived by Dr. Bhindīkar. But in discarding this derivation I am influenced, amongst other considerations,³³ by the principle enunciated here; for उद्गृह्य does not appear to have been in vogue in the sense of 'rejected food', whereas वृष्टि is found in use :—

वृष्टिर् वस्यचिद् दद्यात् (Manu Smṛiti. II-56).

VII. CONDITIONS SUFFICIENT FOR GENERALIZATION.

Very strict principles of induction would require an

exhaustive search for particular instances

to justify the arriving at of a general rule.

This may be possible in the case of physical

sciences. Even there, however, it is hardly pos-

VII. Conditions sufficient for generalization.

33. These are already stated above under Head IV.

sible to wait till every particular case in the world is collected and considered, and students of science have to rest content with a sufficiently large number of cases to base their conclusions upon. In the case of linguistic investigation, however, this principle has further limitations, owing to the peculiar nature of the subject. The student of the growth of languages may find it difficult to gather more than a few instances some times very few, and yet he would feel justified and free to enunciate a rule governing them, even if it be as exceptional cases. For language too often follows a course which appears wilful, erratic and unaccountable. I recognize, as Mr. Beames has observed,³¹ that strictly speaking no phonetic changes can really be exceptional in the sense of being without a cause; they must come under some principle undiscovered owing to our incomplete knowledge. And yet, what account can we give of the change of त to क in शक्ति (Gujarati) (= a co-wife) from Sanskrit सपत्नी,

34 "My method of reasoning does not admit of the usual slipshod way of accounting for the difficulty by setting it down to 'caprice' or 'lawless license'. There is a reason for every thing in this world, if we can only find it out, and if we cannot find it out it is only honest to say so not to try and cover our ignorance by saying there is no law."

(Beames' 'Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India,' Vol II, P. 22).

Also,—“It is easy to talk, as some authors do, of the 'lawless license' of Indian etymology, but this is only a confession of ignorance, it amounts to saying that because we cannot find the reasons for any particular change, therefore there are no reasons at all, the blind mole says there is no sun because he cannot see the day light. Reasons there must be, and it is our business to try and find them out, or at any rate in this early stage of inquiry into the elements of the modern Indian languages, we may perhaps be satisfied if we can point out some slight indications which, if followed up hereafter, may lead later inquirers into a discovery of the full and perfect system.” (Ibid, Vol. I, Pp 204 5).

difficult to discover any other instance falling under this rule of changing *भ* to *व्ह*³⁶. Yet in the light of a number of collateral as well as covering principles this case receives the stamp of truth, these principles are —

- (a) The reverse process, *व्ह* to *भ*, is visible in the case of *निर्वाह* — *निष्वाह*, (*ह* thrown back) *निव्हाउ*, *निभाव* (Gujarātī). Similarly, *विभूति* (*ह* added) *विभूती*,³⁷ *भभूती* (Gujarātī).

These instances mark a further progress of the same principle enunciated by Hemachandra in *व्होभोवा*॥ *सि हे* VIII-57, which gives us *जिह्वा*—*जिह्मा*—*जीम* (Gujarātī), thus establishing a phonetic relation between *व्ह* and *भ*³⁸.

- (b) *व* and *व* are freely interchangeable, bearing, great phonetical affinity, and *भ* is aspirated *व*. Thus the *भ* in *अभिनव* gets partially split up into *व्* and *ह्* and then come *र+ह्*, I say partially because it is not like the full splitting up found in *वहिणी*, the Prākṛit form of *भगिनी* (Sanskrit), although, no doubt, in Gujarātī the *व्*

36 It must be noted that this change occurs only during an intermediate phonetic stage which may not necessarily be found in actual writing. However the instance of *व्हेवाकळो* given later on below will show that at least in the case of that word the change is formed in the final stage of the word.

37 This instance may be regarded by some as a doubtful case, on the ground that *सि* is not changed to *दे* nor is *भू* changed to *हू* as would be expected in Prākṛit phonetics. But it is possible to class this case as one of *संज्ञावृत्त* i.e. a word derived in Gujarātī direct from Sanskrit without the interposition of Prākṛit, and in such cases the phonetic changes of Prākṛit do not appear invariably.

38 *उभ*, given as an alternative *defa* of *ऊर्ध्व*, in *सि हे* VIII-59 can be explained in the light of the principle underlying this for *ऊर्ध्व* dropping the *र्* and cleaving the pure *ह्* from *व्* gives *उह्व*—*उह* and *व्ह* is changed to *भ*.

As Mr Beames has well pointed out (Vol I P 359), when *ह्* is combined with the semi vowels *व्* or *व्* these become *व्ह* and *व्ह*, and then in this mixed nexus the *ह्* ends by merely aspirating the strong letter. (This is the analysis of *ह* becoming *ह* and *व्ह* becoming *भ*)

and ह unite again into the partial union हृ in हृन् . (Marāṭhī preserves the disruption and has वर्दीण .)

Marāṭhī म्हण (=to speak, to say) from Skr. मण् also indicates the same process: म् split up into म and ह , and in this case the म nasalizes ह into म् . The reverse process is visible in भेंग (G.) from महिषी (Skr.), where म् in the intermediate step म्हणी gets turned to ह plus a nasalization of the vowel, and then ह fuses together into भ .

(c) In Bangālī there is no व sound and व is written by them as भ , भिन्दोरिया for विन्दोरिया . This also indicates the phonetic affinity between व and भ .

Thus, in spite of there being only one instance, the rule about the change of भ to व acquires a right to acceptance. In fact it is but an instance of one or two wider principles covering a number of instances, viz. the phonetic affinity between व and भ , the aspiration of the stronger member in a mixed nexus by the aspirate ह , and the reversal of the process. Further support is found in the relation of व and हृ disclosed by the भ in Sanskrit लुभ् (=to desire) = Lat. *ludet* = it pleases—findig a reflexion in the r (which is somewhat like हृ) in English '*love*'. There is one more word which partly illustrates this *utarga* about the change of भ to हृ :—partly, because the भ is changed to हृ and not to ह :— भयप्पाहृत् (Sk.), भयप्राहृत् (Ap.), भंवाहृ (G.). This will show that the *utarga* is not entirely a *संक्रमणोत्तम*.

To take up now the general principles which govern phonetic mutations and formations. I may refer to a *General principles governing phonetic mutations and formations.* useful observation regarding the nature of phonetic changes which the writer on Philology in the *Encyclopædia*³⁹ Britannica has incidentally made. He says:—

"In language there are two kinds of sound changes, that which is unconscious, universal at a given time and within a given area, and on the other hand that which belongs only to a

39. Vol. XXXI, P. 674 (Ninth Edition—VIIIth of the elementary volumes).

particular class or clique, deviates consciously from the pronunciation of the majority, is therefore not universal, and exercises no permanent influence on the language."

How far this classification of sound-change would apply to the case of Gujarâtî may be considered. I may at once state that a number of phonetic changes and resulting forms may only *apparently* belong to the latter class, i. e. conscious and artificial sound-change, for they can be shown to fall under the former, as following recognizable phonetic laws, for instance, the several word-forms which have been advocated in the cause of reform of spelling during the last three decades, and adopted by an appreciable number of people, viz. the recognition of the partially aspirated consonants, the wide (विपुल) sound of ए and ओ, &c. As I hope to show later on, these forms can be brought under fixed philological laws, and consequently they cannot be set down as the artificial creation of a clique or class, especially because they actually exist in spoken language and were excluded only from the artificial system of writing introduced by the Educational Department of the State some 40 years ago. On the other hand, that description of artificiality may properly fit the attempt of several persons to pronounce the same words as mentioned above either without the aspirate or with the aspirate split apart, and even *strengthened*; e. g. केछे or क-हे-छे (or क-हे-छे) instead of कहेछे, which is the actual, natural and fairly universal mode of pronunciation.

We may leave this point here, and note the several important factors which cause phonetic changes in a

Phonetic decay: four causes of corruption enumerated by Vrajalâl Sâstri. language with special reference to the Gujarâtî language. The late Vrajalâl Sâstri⁴⁰ enumerates four causes of corruption of Sanskrit words, viz. (1) अज्ञान (i. e. ignorance), (2) वेग (i. e. hurry, rapidity in pronunciation), (3) अनभ्यास (i. e. want of proper

40. Gujarâtî Bhâshâno Itihâsa, P. 20 (A. D. 1866 edition).

practice), and (4) जिह्वाशय (i. e. defective lingual aptitude).

*The six forces that
check decay, ac-
cording to Dr.
Bhindarkar.*

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhindarkar in discussing pho-
netic decay speaks of six forces which arrest
the progress of decay and those that give
rise to phonetic decay, viz. (1) Education,
(2) Necessity of being intelligible enforcing
carefulness, (3) A sense of refinement, (4) Formation of litera-
ture, (5) Defective hearing, in the case of alien contact, and
(6) Defective constitution of the vocal

*A comparison of
these two diagnoses*

organs.⁴¹ Comparing these two diagnoses of
the corruption of language, we find a certain
relation, as corresponding or opposing forces, between the two ;
thus :—

(1) Education	} against	(1) अज्ञान
(3) A sense of refinement		
(4) Literature		
(2) Carefulness	} against	(2) वेग
(5) Defective hearing		(3) अनव्यास
and (6) Defective vocal organs	against	(4) जिह्वाशय.

No detailed treatment of these factors is necessary. I may,

I. Phonetic decay: however, only deal with जिह्वाशय, defective
जिह्वाशय—defective vocal organs. This feature comes into play
vocal organs. when alien races try to pronounce unfamiliar
sounds in words used by each other, or it may

happen that in one and the same country certain classes of people,
owing to defective training or to racial causes, mispronounce cer-
tain sounds. Thus, the Western races are as a rule unable to
pronounce dental consonants in Sanskrit and in our vernaculars
correctly; e. g. the Sanskrit क प द य न are sounded by them too
much like the cerebrals कट्ट कट्ट न, and, on the other hand, the ययययय
sound of द and ढ in our vernaculars, as in पोढ़ी, दाढ़ी, is pronounced
by them as 'r' and 'gh' respectively, so much so that even some
noted European writers on the philology of the Indian Vern-

41. Western Philological Lectures, pp. 10-11.

culars represent these मूर्धन्यतर sounds by the letters 'r' and 'rh'⁴² instead of 'd' and 'dh', 'r' and 'rh' being the nearest approach they can make to the real sounds. Without boasting it may be asserted that while the Western races fail in the matter of pronouncing oriental sounds, and even the Persians and other Asiatic foreigners exhibit the same defect, the Indian Brahmana can successfully pronounce the sounds of his own language as also those of languages foreign to him. Centuries of pure traditions in this respect due to the Brahmana's strict regard for correct pronunciation, support him in this aptitude, and account for it. It was this devotion to accuracy of pronunciation that lay at the root of the Śruti⁴³ enjoining not to pronounce barbarously, the word used as a verb therein being identical with barbarous pronunciation.⁴⁴

42. For instance see Beames Vol I, P 73, where he uses r and rh to represent र and र्ह though in one place he also uses d. It seems he makes some fine distinction between d and r—which I confess my inability to comprehend. It must be said for the foreigners that there is a certain amount of phonetic affinity between r rh and द-ढ, as can be seen from a comparison of their स्थान and प्रयत्न, and from the change of Sanskrit पुर to Marathi पुढे, (the र and the aspirate in the विसर्ग being = rh), and also from the change of दोषक to दोहो-दोहो (The माधवानल-दोषध्वज is composed in दोहू entirely the text of the poem itself has the word दोषक) The change of कुशक (Skṛ) to कुशो (G) also marks this change of र to द.

A glance at Pp 234-5 Vol I of Mr Beames work will show that the defect in his advocacy lies in the fact that he takes as his basis the जिह्वादीप of the Indian peasant in pronouncing English words whereas the proper basis of comparison would be the cultured gentleman of the East and that of the West.

43. तस्माद्ब्राह्मणेन म्लेच्छिष्ठैः वापमापिष्ठैः ॥ also उपनिषादार्थाः स म्लेच्छ तस्मान्न ब्राह्मणो म्लेच्छेय (Satapatha Brāhmana का० ३ प्र० पा १-५-११ ३ अ० पा० २-१-२४)

44. Mr Beames (Vol I, p 233) states that the Indians possess the true dentals and the higher cerebrals (i.e. what I call मूर्धन्यतर) but not the middle or intermediate cerebrals (i.e. they do not possess the ordinary मूर्धन्य sounds द to ण). I think his observation is defective. If he had

However, as hinted above, even amongst the Indian population there are classes the members of which are noted for want of purity of pronunciation. For instance, some Indians will always pronounce 'is' as 'ij' (the 'z' like sound being impossible to their tongue-power). Similarly there are many delicate shades of sound in the English language which few Indians are able to master, and Englishmen at once detect the minute defects and un-English ring in their pronunciation. Again, certain *Vāṇias* in *Gujarāt* sound the न as ण and vice versa, thus marking a strange defect, if it can be called one, for it is not that they cannot at all sound the one letter or the other, they can sound both, but in the wrong place; for मण (= a maund) they would say मन and for वने (= near) वणे. It is more a case of faulty observation and of want of care than physical or physiological defect. The latter kind of defect is noted in men (*Vāṇias*, *Kaṇabīs*, *Brahma Kshatriis* &c.) who pronounce छ as ङ or छ &c. A true case of defective vocality was that of a *Parsi* (a typical representative of the class)—known in a subordinate court at *Surat* many years ago—who, when required to write द or ढ, honestly asked:—"दासभाईनो दरो ढणुं के दोसभाईनो दरो?" (really दोसभाईनो दरो). He could perceive the distinction between द and ढ, but had not the vocal power to pronounce them differently. This is the case of the incapacity of a class. Cases of individual

only compared the sound of ङ and ढ at the beginning of the words (as in दण, दण, दादी, दण) which are the intermediate cerebral, with the sounds of the same letters when uninitial (as in नीद, पीदने, लीद, ग्री (Skr) and पीदी, ददी (G.)), he would have perceived his error so far. He is not quite unconscious of this, for at P. 73 of Vol. I. he says—

"At the beginning of a word, or when forming part of a prefix, ङ and ढ are sounded d and dh respectively. But in other situations they take the sound of hard g and gh."

As to ङ, ढ being anything but intermediate cerebral, it is difficult to overdo. How any one could err in his observation. ङ is perhaps the only higher cerebral which cannot easily be an intermediate cerebral, unless it be in the highly artificial *Prakṛit* and *Dhṛga* words beginning with न, no other language has words with an initial ङ. However, in the double conjunct न्ग, the latter is necessarily sounded as an intermediate cerebral.

incapacity are well-known and numerous, as that of a Persian teacher who always pronounced क as त, rebuking his pupil thus: "अरे बोल ताफ ! (meaning काफ)--अय् नामाकूड ! मैं ताफ बोलता हूँ और तू ताफ तायतु बोलता है ?"

[The correct sound would give the sentence thus —

अय् नामाकूड ! मे काफ बोलताहूँ और तू ताफ कायतु बोलता है ?]

So much for phonetic decay. Another principle noted by Dr. Bhândârkar is *False Analogy*.⁴⁵ He has given instances which need not be reproduced, and I have also mentioned some already and shall have occasion to deal with others later on. I need not therefore linger on this point here at all.

I may, however, add a few instances which illustrate the operation of this principle of False Analogy:—

- (1) ऊंघुं is an adjective derived from Skr. ऊर्ध्वकं, Ap. उर्ध्वं. Now, this word is mistaken in some parts of Kâthiâvâd as a past participle of some root, on the analogy of लांघुं, वांघुं, &c. which they have as past participial forms of √लाग्, √वाग्, instead of लांघुं, वांघुं, recognised as such forms in pure Gujarâti. They have thus created the root, ऊंघ्, and have ऊंघुं, ऊंघे &c., as if it was a true verb. This mistake is further promoted by the idea of an activity viz. that of standing, which underlies the adjective. Here there is a double basis for false analogy (1) form of the word, and (2) the sense.
- (2) जोइये छिये—is a peculiar expression meaning—'(it) is wanted,' as in म्हारे कागळ जोइये छिये, "I want (some) paper"—literally "paper is wanted by me". Now, the form छिये (first person plural present tense of the verb in छे) is here converted from छे (3rd person singular, present tense) to छिये on account of the similar formation in जोइये, which is from √जो (=to see), and is crystallized into a kind of adverb or adjective (or a

45. His Wilson Philological Lectures, P. 12.

defective verb as when we say *मझे चार रुपिया जोइये*); the idea of "wanting" is connected with that of "looking for a thing." We look for the thing which we want. The principle of analogy is further developed in the case of *जोइये*, and the forms *जोइने* (future tense, "shall be wanted") and *जोइतुं* (present participle) are created as if *जोइ* itself were a root.

[The impulse of false analogy is noticeable in the efforts of children in their progress of acquisition of language. English children saying "I looks" on the analogy of "he looks" are an instance in point. This method of following analogous forms is typified in the well known joke against *Neposytas* defying rules of grammar in saying *अस्मादूनां नैयादिदूनामर्थे तत्पर्यं न ह्यु गच्छति*—and justifying their incorrect forms by saying *यथा इत्यादूनां तथा अस्मादूनां नैयादिदूनाम् । यथा मातरि पितरि तथा अर्थे गच्छति ॥*—This is of course the height of absurdity, but it furnishes an indication.

A very curious instance of false analogy, however, was seen actually in the case of a child saying *हूं संतारूं गयो* correctly when he hid himself behind an umbrella, but, on coming out of his hiding shelter, innocently saying *हूं संतारूंभी आयो*, the evident analogy being some such thing as "*हूं मुंवारूंभी आयो*," thus regarding *संतारूं* as something like a noun, the child's perception of its verbal significance being not yet developed.]

Opposed to the principle of analogy is that of distinction. A desire to steer clear of analogy in grammatical
III Distinction. or basal formations leads one to adopt most queer formations. Take the instance of the first personal plural form of verbs in the present tense *हमे करिये* (*डिये*). This *करिये* is really evolved out of *क्रियते* (*Skr.*), *करिमाह*, *करियाह* (*Pr. & Apabhramsha*), the passive impersonal (*भावे*) form in the 3rd person singular. I find support in this derivation in Dr. Tessitori's researches and the reason he assigns for this vagary of language (a reason which I did not light upon) points to the principle of distinction. It is this: the real 1st person plural, present tense form is *करहुं* (*Apabhramsha*), *करतुं* (*O. W. Raj.*), which is

not distinguishable from the 2nd person plural, करव (O W R.), in Guj करवो To distinguish the two forms, to save them from the danger of analogy or identity we have करिये in the 1st person plural (See Dr Tessitori's Notes on the grammar of O W R., *Rajasthani*, § 137) It will be observed that underlying this vagary there is a certain principle governing the selection of another form The change of sense involved in the change of the verbal mood is guided by a mental process which may be termed *psychological refraction* करियइ is being done (by us)', gets a sort of a twist in the mind and turns into 'we do,' just as a stick half immersed in water gets refracted and diverges at the point of contact with the surface of water into a different angle instead of going on in a straight line

The mental steps are these ईदश कम नियोते—अइस कम करियइ This is passive Then G हाउ काम करिये this is something like imperative (करिये=should be done) Cf H आप बैठिये=you should sit, please sit Then comes the real twist—आपणे—हमे—करिये=we do (करिये छिये with the छे as a termination to make up the present indicative mood) This principle of distinction operates widely in the formation of Gujarati language, and instances could be multiplied but I content myself with this single instance

Connected with these last two principles is that of *Simplification* The tendency of the human mind is to get rid of complexity and introduce simplicity by doing away with variety of forms and unifying them as much as possible According to Vararuchi (*Prakṛita Pralāpa Pariccheda* XII, *Sūtra* 19) in *Sauraseni* अम् becomes अच्छ and so we have the forms अच्छामि अच्छसि, but his next *Sūtra* (XII-20) specially makes an exception in the case of the 3rd person singular (present tense) and so we have अत्ति, and not अच्छइ for अस्ति Now our Gujarati छ (3rd person singular present tense) has behind it the earlier forms छइ, अउइ It is therefore but reasonable to see in this a resort to simplicity whereby at a certain stage in the evolution of the *Prakṛits* after Vararuchi's period the uneven state of things created by the exceptional form अत्ति disappeared and uniformity

and simplicity were secured by bringing the 3rd personal singular form too under the common rule, and thus अय्य came into vogue.

[Dr. H. Mutschmann, in an article on Philology in Jack's Self Educator, says — "The general tendency towards uniformity and the desire to simplify speech is chiefly responsible for analogical changes."

Here is shown the connection between *Simplification* and *Analogy*. The former impels people to search for analogy and secure its results. Simplification and uniformity need not have been mentioned separately; the one involves the other.]

Economy of Effort is another motive force governing phonetic changes. This principle underlies some of the causes mentioned just above. Dr.

Bhāndīkar has thoughtfully pointed out the working of this principle in the special peculiarities of Pali whereby the ऐ and औ of Sanskrit were turned into short ए and ओ, and dissimilar consonants forming conjuncts were assimilated. He has further shown the real cause of this by advancing the theory that the speakers of Pali were originally an alien race, who, energetic and strong as their vocal organs were, were never the less unable to combine energy of utterance with two successive movements of the vocal organs. [This explains why even now some Bangal's turn ऐ into ए, औ into ओ, एय into ओ (एय) and so on, even when pronouncing Sanskrit texts *].

Dr. Bhândîrkar also attributes the short ए and ओ as also the change of dentals to cerebrals to the fact that these sounds (short ए and ओ and cerebrals) must have existed in the original language of the speakers of Pâli and they could not shake them off entirely and these thus affected their pronunciation of Sanskrit words. He further shows that these two peculiarities, the short ए and ओ and the cerebral sounds,⁴⁷ belong to the Dravidian languages also, and it is possible that the original Pâli speakers, belonged to the same race as the Dravidians of Southern India.⁴⁸

Finally, I would draw your attention to the potent principle which regulates the preservation of syllabic quantity during the process of phonetic mutation in our vernaculars. If, for instance, you look at the *utsarga* which notes the simplification of conjuncts and

47. Mr. Beames has an original, but not quite convincing, theory about the history and evolution of the dentals. (See his Vol. I, pp. 231-235). He suggests that the intermediate cerebrals were the only sounds of the two (cerebrals and dentals) which the Âryans possessed before and probably for some centuries after they came into India, for he says, these Âryans, like the Teutons, had the nervous vigour which enabled them to employ their organs of speech firmly and crisply; that in those days they knew no distinction between ऋ and ॠ, ॡ and ॢ; that later on conjuncts of these sounds with ॠ (which is higher cerebral) gave rise to a separate creation of the higher cerebrals and the dentals, and that eventually the dentals were evolved out of the cerebrals through this process. This is his theory in rivalry with the theory of Dravidian contact and importation of non-Âryan words as the source of cerebral sounds,—without at the same time absolutely denying the possibility of the contact and non-Âryan importation theories containing a certain amount of truth. The outstanding cause of this result, according to him, was the *softening effect of the warm climate of India*. We may only ask—how is it that with the same warm climate we can still pronounce and retain the cerebrals—intermediate as well as higher? And why did the Dravidians retain the sounds in spite of the climate?

48. Wilson Philological Lectures, pp. 46-48.

Mr. Beames also sees in the short ए the evidence of foreign influence (See his Vol I, pp. 140-141).

simultaneous lengthening of the preceding vowel, you will see this principle of balance of quantity at work; thus, वमं (Skr.), वम्म (Pr.), becomes वाम (G.), and here the loss of quantity in the first syllable due to the change of म् to म् is made up by lengthening the अ of व into आ. Similarly, when a strong *anusvara* of Sanskrit is weakened in Gujarāṭi the contingent vowel is lengthened and thus the *mītrā*-value is preserved; thus:—ययकं (Skr.), ययकं (Apabhr.), ययं (G.); ययकः (Skr.), ययत (Apabhr.), ययतो (G.). So again, when a strong द shifts its place, the same process of balancing occurs; thus:—ययकः (Skr.), ययकं (Ap.), ययतं, —यय -तं, and to preserve the *mītrā*-value, ययतं (G.). To take one more case, when a final यययम् is reduced to one vowel by the second member of the ययम् being dropped, the first member is lengthened and the balance of quantity secured; thus:—मोक्षिकं (Skr.), मोक्षिभं (Pr.), मोक्षि (Ap.), मोक्षी (G.); लोहितं (Skr.), लोहित (Ap.), लोही (G.).

It will be observed that nature plays a greater part than art in the operation of all these principles, in fact art has no part in the process. In *Phonetic Decay and Economy of Effort*, natural aptitude and constitution are undoubtedly the generating causes. In the case of *Analogy, Distinction, Simplification and Balance of Quantity* the governing cause must be sought, not in a pre-meditated intention or desire to secure the results through those processes. If you examine the psychology of these processes, you will realize that the mental activity involved therein is synthetic not analytic; spontaneous, not deliberate. More than that, the synthesis is unconscious, and not even syllogistic. It is a sort of intuitive synthesis. When, for instance, the people changed वम्म to वाम, they did not say unto themselves:—"Come, let us simplify the conjunct", and then getting वम, again they did not say:—"Let us balance the quantity, and so make वाम." The same remark applies to the other principles, *Distinction, Analogy, Economy of Effort*. In short, you will remember that just as the *संज्ञा* of

language, viz grammar, is analytical and its *उद्भव*, language a synthetic evolution, even so the phonetic processes are spontaneous workings out of the synthetic thinking part of *मनः*, and it is examined analytically only by the science of philology.

After these introductory general remarks, I shall now enter upon a detailed examination of the special phonetic principles which govern the word formations in Gujarātī in the course of the passage of the words from Sanskrit through the Pākṛits or occasionally direct from Sanskrit, into Gujarātī. I shall at the start pass in review the efforts made by scholars in the past in this direction, scholars whose work as pioneers in this cause cannot be too highly estimated, then I shall give a description of the general nature of the phonetic changes to be discussed by me, and finally I shall take up the specific principles themselves for consideration.

Two names rise prominently as pioneers in the field of Gujarātī philology the late Śāstri Vrajala Kālidāsa and the late Mr Navalarām. The former wrote his "*Gujarātī Bīśhīno Itihāsa*" (A history of the Gujarātī language) in A. D. 1866 and his *Utsarga mālā* (A string of rules of phonetics) in A. D. 1870. The latter scholar wrote his *Vyutpatti Pāṭī* in A. D. 1887. No doubt these works were wanting in scientific precision and had their defects inseparable from such works undertaken in the dawn of philological research in Gujarātī and these defects have been incidentally pointed out by me in the course of these lectures so far and I may have occasion in the subsequent portions to do so again. Still we have to remember the times during which these two scholars had to work almost unaided. Vrajala belonged to the Śāstri class and this class as a rule neglected and even despised the Pākṛits. He was perhaps the sole exception. He had not the benefit of the light of Western scholarship and of its methods of inquiry, although at the same time, he had an advantage over

Navalarām, while treating of the अवान्तर उत्सर्ग, though in a rather crude form, ignored the intermediate Prākṛits and dealt with Gujarātī words as if they had come direct from Sanskrit.⁵²

“आ निबन्धना समझा उत्सर्ग प्राकृत भाषाना व्याकरण उपरवी रच्याछे, ते गूर्जर भाषामां सर्वत्र प्रवर्तयता नवी पण ए उत्सर्ग भाषा जाणनारजे अवश्य जाणवा योग्य छे, माटे भमे आ निबन्धनां लख्याछे.”

Then, the only अवान्तर उत्सर्ग he gives are (P. 114-115 of the उत्सर्ग-मात्रा) — (1) change of ष to ख, (2) change of स to च, (3) change of व to व (which is incorrect so far as initial व is concerned), (4) change of ट to ठ, and (5) change of छ to छ.

But, most important of all, while in A. D. 1866 in his गुजराती भाषानो इतिहास Vrajālāl Śāstri incidentally mentions (at P. 30 and also at P. 77) the अवान्तर उत्सर्ग which notes the dropping of one of the doubled consonants and the lengthening of the preceding vowel (सर्प—सप्पो—साप), in 1870 A. D. in his उत्सर्गमात्रा he assigns to this उत्सर्ग a subordinate place under the Prākṛit उत्सर्ग given as No. 11.

Again (P. 10) when under उत्सर्ग 19 he gives an incidental note that the first इ in a Sanskrit word is changed to अ by villagers, and gives विचार—वचार as an instance, he is not reminded even by this of the wide spread उत्सर्ग whereby in सिद्ध Gujarātī a non final इ is changed to अ, as in तन्त्र, चण्डु, etc. Finally, when in his उत्सर्ग 173 (P. 104) he tries to include in the general rule स्वराणां स्वराः प्रायोऽप्यभ्रंशे even cases like लघुन—लसण, क्षुर—छरो, तिन्त्र—तल which really fall under a distinct principle, viz. the change of non ultimate इ—उ to अ, a principle which began its work to a limited extent even from the time of the Prākṛits, Vrajālāl Śāstri cannot plead for the arrangement the merits of brevity and scientific generalization, but, on the contrary, the arrangement presents a clumsy jumble of incongruous rules.

52 One or two instances must be given in this case also. The व्युत्पाद-पाठ gives as the first उत्सर्ग the rule about the dropping of one member of a conjunct and the lengthening of the preceding vowel. This is all right. But in giving the instances, सर्प, सप्त, कर्म etc. are shown as having at once become साप, सात, काम etc. as if they never passed through the Prākṛit stage, सप्प, सप्प, कम्म etc. This is incorrect history of the evolution of the words.

Similarly उत्सर्ग 2 deals with the lengthening of the preceding vowel when a nasal is weakened, e. g. दन—दांठ, रक—रांठ; etc. This fails to provide for Prākṛit cases, e. g. वक्क—वँक्क—वँक्कु (Gujarātī) and the like.

Since the death of these two scholars no systematic attempts have been made to present the philology of Gujarātī in the shape of any published works. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Philological Lectures no doubt deal with Gujarātī phonology and grammar, but Gujarātī comes in there for a partial share in a general treatment of all vernaculars and hence the work, full of erudition and thoughtful treatment as it is, has to be excluded from the above list on that ground and also on the ground that it is not a pioneer's work but that of an accomplished master who had at his command unprecedented learning and a wide field of survey. I shall make as much use of his learned lectures as possible, and while recognizing the independent and able support I receive from his Lectures in many respects, I may have occasion to mark where, on a few points, I have to differ from him respectfully.

Again ડાસર્ગ 3 deals with the change of the Sanskrit masculine ending *ઞ* into Gujarātī *ઞી*, here too the *Apulkransha* stage *ઞઃ* (through the Sanskrit *ઞ* termination) is passed over. Similar is the treatment in ડાસર્ગ 4, of the change of *ઞ* to *ય*.

In ડાસર્ગ 12 *ફ* is given as one of the changes of *ફ*, the instances given being *ફુલ—ફીલ*, *ફા—ફીય*, *અફ—અફી*, *ફુ—ફી*. Now, this is incorrect: the change is short *ફ*, and the final lengthening is due, in the case of *ફુ* and *ફુલ*, to સંધોગસંધે of *ફુ* and the weakening of the nasal in *ફી* in Prakrit, and in the case of *ફી* and *અફી* to the intermediate Prakrit form *મિમ* and *અમિમ*, when, during the further progress towards Gujarātī, the final vowel gets lost and leaves the *ફી* long by way of compensation.

There are several other flaws unconnected with the ignoring of the intermediate Prakrits and I therefore leave them unnoticed here.

[Dr. Teesitori's learned researches into Gujarāṭī language, as published in his "Notes" reprinted from the Indian Antiquary, stand apart as a very recent contribution, and it is on that ground only that I leave the eminent scholar's work apart; though I may occasionally refer to it in my Lectures.]

I must not omit the spade-work done by the late Kavi Narmadāsankar in the investigation of Gujarāṭī language. His works on this subject that I have come across are:—

- (1) *Narmā-Vyākaraṇa*, Part I and II, (published in A.D. 1865 and 1866 respectively).
- (2) *Narmā-Kośa*, published in A.D. 1873;—the two pre-latory articles.
- (3) An article on Old Gujarāṭī, *Jānī Gujarāṭī Bhāṣā*, written in V.S. 1938 (=1882 A.D.) published in the Diwālī number of the "Gujarāṭī" in A.D. 1917.

and

- (4) An unpublished, incomplete, translation of Vararuchi's *Prākṛita-Prakāśa*; which does not profess to be anything beyond a mere verbal translation.

(Of these Nos. 1, 3 and 4 were made available to me by the kind courtesy of Mr. Naṣavarlāl Ichchhārām Desāi B. A., and Mr. Ambālāl B. Jānī B.A., both of the Gujarāṭī Press.)

All these works possess the merits as well as the limitations and faults of a pioneer's work. I need not go into detail into them. I may have to refer to these later on, if occasion arises. This much, however, may be noted here:—Kavi Narmadāsankar indulged in some vagaries, such as writing ॐ (a phonetically absurd symbol for the aspirated vowel, which can only be symbolized by ॐ) and the like; however as soon as he discovered, or was perhaps shown, the absurdity of it, he corrected the error by substituting the symbol, ॐ (the vowel with a diacritical dot below it); he further continued the system for the sake of mere consistency, by giving up even ॐ, ॐ, &c. for ॐ, ॐ, &c.

[I need not dwell on stray and spasmodic efforts like *Apabhraṃśa-śabda-prakāśa* compiled and published in A. D. 1880 by Prabhākara Rāmachandra Pandit of the Vernacular College of Science, Baroda, an etymological vocabulary of Gujarati words on the model of a similar vocabulary of Marathi words published by him two years earlier. While recognizing the praiseworthy attempt made in this compilation at laying down some *utargas* to mark the phonetic changes of words from Sanskrit to Gujarati I cannot help noting its crudity, and the unscientific method of derivation in the vocabulary marked by fanciful and unfounded source-words like मयन for मीन (wax), पद as the source-word of मीढ़ (salt), and the like.]

The scheme which I propose to adopt is necessarily different from that of the two pioneers named above. I shall take into my purview the intermediate Prakrits and deal with the changes during the post *Apabhraṃśa* period. I shall also classify and group the principles on a plan specially suited for the purpose of these Lectures. But before doing so I indicate now the general nature of the phonetic changes to be discussed below. These changes then, are of two kinds

(I) Final or crystallized changes,

(II) Intermediate or *en passant* changes i. e. those of a transitional nature

As regards (I) instances will always be found in written works of older centuries and also in books of the present day as well as in the language actually spoken at present. As regards

(II) instances of such changes may not necessarily be found in written books. These changes will fall under two heads—

(a) Those that may have existed in spoken language at some period or other but were not captured in written books

- (b) *Those that may have been captured in written books, but the works may not be available or widely known to us as yet.*
- (c) *Those that are merely transitional as indicating a possible phonetic condition through which the words must have passed, but were never in vogue in spoken language, much less captured in writing.*

A few instances will explain this classification.

(I) A great majority of the *उत्सर्ग* will fall under this head; e. g.

(1) *संयोगलोप पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व*,—*रुर्मे*—*रुत्तम* (used in *Prākṛit*)—*रुम* current in spoken and written *Gujarātī* for a number of years.

(2) *स* changed to *श* when in contact with *ई* or *यः* :—

Sanskrit	Prākṛit	Gujarātī
शृगाळः	सियाळो	शियाळ etc.

Here all the *Gujarātī* words arrived at finally are in a final crystallized state.

(II) (a) *अधुना* (*Sanskrit*)—*अधुणा* (*Prākṛit*)—then the *ह* is thrown back—so *हउणा*, *Gujarātī* *हणों* or *हमणों*.

The intermediate *हउणा* is such that it possibly may have existed at some stage of the language, but we have no means of ascertaining from any written books.

(b) Sanskrit	Prākṛit	Gujarātī
बुद्ध्म्वी	बुद्ध्म्वी	कणवी
जरढः	जरढो—गरढो	घरढो (पयढो)

Here the first word is likely to have existed in books even, but the works are not available; while the second word is captured in a book not yet widely known; for I find it in a poem entitled *माधवानन्दोपकप्रबन्ध* written in V. S. 1584 by a *Kāyastha* poet, named *Gaṇapati*, (copied in V. S. 1638).⁵³

53. आपण करासित अतिथिना गरदण्णा माई गोडी ॥

(*Anga VIII, stanza 3*).

(c) The most typical instance under this class would be the अग्रन्तरवर्त्म about the change of य to व where before reaching the crystallized form अग्रन्तु in Gujarati the Sanskrit word अभिनय passes through the form अग्रिनय,—a form not to be found in use at any known time as even possibly spoken.⁵⁴

Now I shall treat the specific वर्त्म in detail in my next Lecture.

NOTE A.

Extracts from Dr. Bhinlikar's Paper on the Critical, Comparative and Historical Method of Inquiry. (A. D. 1898.)

(I)

A critical inquirer is one who does not accept an account of an occurrence just as it is presented to him whether orally or in writing. He subjects it to certain tests calculated to prove its truth or otherwise. He takes care for instance to ascertain whether the person giving the account was an eye-witness to the occurrence, and if so whether he was an unprejudiced and at the same time an intelligent observer. If his information is based on other sources, the critic endeavours to ascertain the credibility or otherwise of those sources. When it is a thing or a verified occurrence that he has to deal with, he does not satisfy himself with that view of its nature and relations that appears plausible at first sight. He seeks for extraneous assistance to enable himself to arrive at a correct view. One of the most efficacious means employed by him is comparison of like things or occurrences. This comparison

54 In the Prākṛit stages even, such transitional changes, unreflected in actual speech, can be discovered. For instance, the word मणिनी (Sanskrit) becomes मणिनी in Prākṛit, and Hemachandra gives the word bodily as an *śleṣa* of मणिनी (Ś. H. VIII ii 126). But the phonetic process underlying the change must doubtless have been मणिनी—मणिनी—मणिनी.

Similarly मृग passed through the following stages (in theoretical phonetics of course)—मृग—मृग—before it reached the final form मृग which Hemachandra gives as a really male *śleṣa* of मृग (Ś. H. VIII ii 146).

enables him to separate the accidents of the thing or occurrence from its essential nature, and some times to arrive at a law which includes the thing or occurrence as a particular case and explains it. Though comparison may thus be considered one of the means of a critical examination, still its own proper results are so important that it deserves to be considered an independent method of inquiry. The history of a thing i.e. a comparison of the various forms it presents at different well ascertained periods is also of the greatest use for the determination of its real nature. Often when no written history is available the inquirer determines the historical or chronological relation between the several forms of a thing by referring them to an obvious standard and arrives at some important conclusions based on such relations. Thus for instance, the Greek *e'smes* 'we are' is more ancient than the Sanskrit *emas* for it retains the original *a* of the root *as* in the form of *e* which Sanskrit has lost, and the Sanskrit *santi* 'they are,' more ancient than the Greek *'enti* which has lost the whole root *as*. From an observation of many such forms the conclusion to be drawn is that Greek is not derived from Sanskrit nor Sanskrit from Greek, but both from an older form of speech. The comparative and historical methods correspond to the inductive method used in the physical and experimental sciences. In those branches of knowledge in which you cannot from the nature of the case make experiments, you have recourse to comparison and historical observation. The inductive method began to be used in Europe about the end of the sixteenth century and since that time very great progress has been made in the discovery of the laws of the physical world. The critical, comparative, and historical methods began to be well understood and employed about the end of the eighteenth century, and within a hundred years since that time an equally amazing progress has been made in other departments of knowledge and geology, paleontology, comparative philology or the science of language, comparative mythology, evolution and the origin of species, scientific history, comparative jurisprudence, archaeology sound scholarship, and even comparative religion are the grand results. (Pp 1-22)

(II)

Having disposed of books and other written documents, I will now endeavour to estimate the value of traditions. If we accept traditions as we find them we shall often be deceived. There is a tradition among us for instance that Bhavabhūti and Kālidāsa were contemporaries but we have now found that Bhavabhūti lived in the first quarter of the eighth century of the Christian Era and Kālidāsa long before 634

A. C., since he is mentioned as a famous poet in an inscription bearing that date and also by Bīna who lived in the middle of the seventh century. Bhavabhūti, it has recently been discovered, was a pupil of Kumāralabhaṭṭa, and Kumāralabhaṭṭa quotes from Kālidāsa's Śikuntala.

* * * *

Tradition makes Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana and represents him as having been a blockhead who by austerities pleased Śiva and obtained a new grammar from him. Kātyāyana held a disputation with him for eight days and though Pāṇini proved a powerful antagonist he was ultimately vanquished. The fact, however, as we know it, is that Kātyāyana is the writer of *Vārtikas* or comments on Pāṇini's grammar in which he explains, rectifies, and supplements Pāṇini's rules. It was in consequence of his having thus rectified and supplemented Pāṇini that the story of his having vanquished him must have arisen,—and traditions often have a basis of this nature and no better—but it is impossible that he should have written those comments a good many of which are explanatory in the work of a contemporary. (Pp. 10-11)

* * * *

(III)

Thus, then, the great lesson we have to learn is that if we wish to know and understand the truth about a point whether in science or practical life, we should seek analogies first and if we can the history, and criticize, not foolishly and ignorantly as we often do, but according to well defined and rational principles. (P. 22)



NOTE B.

The following extract from Mr. Beames' *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. I, P. 291, will be useful in comprehending the terms, 'demon,' 'mixed cases,' &c., used in this and other Lectures:—

§ 73 For the purpose of expressing the combination of two cases without the intervention of a vowel, as in *hi, ji, vi*, the term

"nexus" is employed. Three kinds of nexus may conveniently be distinguished —

(1) The strong nexus composed of strong letters only, as क, घ, ङ, ट, थ, द.

(2) The mixed nexus, composed of a strong and a weak letter, as न, न्द, ध, म.

(3) The weak nexus, composed of weak letters only, as ह्य, य, ह, म, ण, ह्व.

By strong letters are meant the first four letters of the five vargas

क, ख, ग, घ.

च, छ, ज, झ.

ट, ठ, ड, ढ.

त, थ, द, ध.

प, फ, ब, म.

By weak letters are meant the nasals ङ, ञ, ण, न, म, subsonants य, प, स, semi vowels य, र, ल, व, and ह. The combinations झ and ञ often treated as single letters, I include under the mixed nexus.

LECTURE IV

(SECTION I)

The History of the Gujarātī Language—Its Evolution.

In tracing the evolution of the Gujarātī language, the first step in our investigation will be to examine the specific principles governing the evolution of Gujarātī. and thus I take up this question as proposed in the conclusion of my last lecture. It will be convenient at the outset to state a few defining terms, સંજ્ઞાs, which I shall use for the sake of brevity.

(1) યણ્બુતિ or more briefly બુતિ means a single vowel sound with the consonants (if any) dependent on it; a syllable; e. g. the word અનુસાર has the four બુતિs, અ, ઋ+૩ (= ઋ), ય+૨+આ (= યા) and ર+અ (= ર)

In short બુતિ is the minimum sound group possible to be heard.¹

[The word અક્ષર is used to signify a syllable in Sanskrit. It is defined in the *Prātisākhya* thus:—સખ્યંજનઃ સાત્ત્વમારઃ શુદ્ધોમાદિ સ્વરોઽક્ષરમ્।
(*Rejvāda Prātisākhya*, 1033 in Max Müller's Edition).

I have preferred to adhere to બુતિ to avoid confusion]

(2) સ્વરિત્તિ-અસ્વરિત્તિ-(or પ્રધાન-ગોણ)

સ્વરિત્તિ² or પ્રધાન is a બુતિ which is uttered with greater emphasis

than other श्रुतिs in the same word; an accented syllable. अस्वरित or गौण is a श्रुति not so emphasized; an unaccented syllable. e. g. चौपड़ी-चौपड़ियो, वंळवुं-वळावुं; etc.

(3) द्रुत-मध्य-विलम्बित-द्रुततर-विलम्बिततर. These terms are used to measure the length of the utterance of vowels; vocal time-measure.

A द्रुत utterance has $\frac{1}{2}$ मात्रा or time-measure.

A मध्य do. do. 1 मात्रा or time-measure.

A विलम्बित do. do. 2 मात्राs or time-measures.

A द्रुततर utterance has a मात्रा somewhere between zero and $\frac{1}{2}$.

A विलम्बिततर utterance has 3 मात्राs or time-measures.

(More than three मात्राs will give विलम्बिततम utterances of varying lengths. द्रुततम is not a possible utterance in phonetics).

[The मात्रा of Indian prosody corresponds very nearly to the *mora* of ancient prosody in Europe.]

(Note.—(In Gujarātī) अस्वरित अकार has a द्रुत or occasionally a द्रुततर utterance.)

A ह्रस्व स्वर i. e. a short vowel (other than अ) has a मध्य utterance.

A दीर्घ स्वर i. e. a long vowel, has a विलम्बित utterance.

A षुद्ध स्वर i. e. an extra long vowel has a विलम्बिततर utterance.

E. G.—वेसतुं—here वे is विलम्बित, स is द्रुत;

सवाल—here स is मध्य, वा is विलम्बित and ल is द्रुत.

(In this word ल is अस्वरित, वा is fully स्वरित and स though अस्वरित is comparatively more स्वरित than ल).

(4) लघुप्रयत्न or लघूच्चारण यकार is the weak य which is pronounced with a feeble effort of all parts of the tongue.³

or a pitch accent—a point into which we need not enter here,—compels me to adhere to the nomenclature adopted by me above. Besides, स्वर is used generally for accent, Siddhānta-kaumudī calls the chapter on accent स्वरप्रक्रिया.

3 In connection with लघुप्रयत्नतर य and वे a लघूच्चारण is described in the Siddhānta Kaumudī as under —

यस्योच्चारणे जिह्वाग्रोपाग्रमध्यमूलानां द्वैविध्यं भावयेत् स लघूच्चारणः । (See वृत्ति on VIII-iii-18 of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*)

e. g. आग्नेः, गग्नेः, वायुदेः, दीपदं, आग्नेयः, गग्नेयः, आग्नेयः, आग्नेयः, etc. (In व्यापार, दग्नेय, सग्नेय, यजमान, योग etc. the य is full and strong; it is गुरुप्रयत्न or अतिथिः).

Similarly there is a लघुप्रयत्न द्वार due to a weak (मिथि) effort of the tongue and lips;

E. g. नाग्नेः, पाग्नेः, छाग्ने (for साग्ने), जाग्ने (for गाग्ने) etc. (आग्नेः, व्यापार, दग्नेय etc. have a strong and full—गुरुप्रयत्न—य).

(3) लघुप्रयत्न or लघुप्रयत्न द्वार—is a sound not so named anywhere, but it is largely noticeable in our vernaculars and perhaps existed in Sanskrit; as noticed before, the औरम्य and कण्ठ द्वार of the Pāṇiniya Śikṣā may perhaps correspond to these two modern द्वार, लघुप्रयत्न and गुरुप्रयत्न, i. e. the weak ह the aspiration whereof is diffuse, and the strong ह the aspiration whereof is concentrated.

E. g. लघुप्रयत्न द्वार—हमे, हमारे, हुं, हेय, हमणां, हनी, होइ, होइ, होइ, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, etc.

गुरुप्रयत्न द्वार—हमे, हमारे, हुं, हेय, हमणां, हनी, होइ, होइ, होइ, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, ह्ये, etc.

(6) यधुति अक्षर—is the weak य sound which the अ attains when certain consonants are dropped and leave this अ, and when it is preceded by अ or आ, e. g. यधुति Pr. यधुति; नभुति etc.

This यधुति अक्षर is mentioned in⁴ *St. H.* VIII-i-180, and originated there, though of course it is the same as the old लघुप्रयत्न द्वार of Pāṇini's times. Hīmachandra relaxes the condition about अयोग्य and cites विभ्र (Skr. विभ्र) as an instance. In fact an अ after ह is bound to sound as य. Hīmachandra includes अ in this description, e. g. पातां (8). पातां (Pr.); and therefore uses the term यधुति. But for the purpose of Gujarati phonology अ is all that is required to be considered.

4 Dr. Hornl (Introduction to Chandra's *Prakṛta Lakṣaṇa*, p. xxvii) thinks यधुति is a specific name coined by Hīmachandra. But a glance at the *śikṣā* and the gloss will show that it is not so.

The real meaning is that the अ left after the ह of पातां is converted into य; and nothing like a special a-lakṣaṇa is intended.

(7) मूर्धन्यतर ङ and ढ—are the ङ and ढ which are sounded with a deeper and fuller cerebral effort of the tongue.

e. g. कङ्कु, पाङो, गाङी, लङे, पङे, कङी; etc.

(Whereas डगळुं, डाळी, दोसो, दंग, दगळो, दाळ, &c. are simply मूर्धन्य). (Sanskrit also appears to possess this मूर्धन्यतर sound, though not so named; hence it is that ईङे is ईङ्गे and गूढं is गूढङ्गं in Vedic Sanskrit).

(8) उपतालव्य, अर्धतालव्य or प्राकृत उच्चार of च, छ, ज, झ.

This is a sound foreign to Sanskrit and began in the Prākṛits, and hence I call it प्राकृत उच्चार.

It is produced by touching with the tongue the portion of the palate just where it borders on the teeth, whereas the Sanskrit तालव्य (i. e. what I may call शुद्ध तालव्य) sound is produced by a touch of the tongue higher up in the palate;

e. g. वांचुं, पूळुं, तजुं; वींझुं.

(9) विवृत and अविवृत and अर्धविवृत (sounds of ए and ओ). विवृत ए-ओ—are the ए and ओ which are sounded wide, i. e. with an expanding of the glottis, so that the sound is something like that in *bat* and *plot*.

अविवृत (ए-ओ)—are the opposite sounds where the glottis is not expanded so much; like the sound in *bale* and *boat*.

अर्धविवृत (ए-ओ) are the sounds which stand midway between विवृत and अविवृत.

Examples:—विवृत—र्ण, र्ण, रर; कर्ड, मर्र; etc.

अविवृत—वेळ, केळ, कोरी, मोर, etc.

अर्धविवृत—ळसेळे, ढखोळो, थोडो (the ओ in टो); etc.

(Note:—the term विवृत belongs to the old nomenclature in Sanskrit about the प्रयत्न of letters, but it does not cover this peculiar sound in Gujarātī; the name is adopted by me only on the basis of analogy and a free interpretation of the term. The term अर्धविवृत is entirely newly coined).

(10) **જોમટ** and **તીવ્ર અનુસ્વાર**.—**જોમટ અનુસ્વાર** is the weak nasal sound produced by a relaxed nasal tension.

તીવ્ર અનુસ્વાર—is the opposite of it, the strong nasal sound, produced by a powerful nasal tension.

Examples.—

જોમટ—ચાંચું, વાંતું, ઘાંટું, ડંટું etc.

તીવ્ર—તંજામ, તિંદા, ટુંદ, ટુંદલ etc.

જોમટ અનુસ્વાર is further divisible into three subdivisions:—(a) **જોમટ**, (b) **જોમટતર**, (c) **જોમટતમ**. e. g.

જોમટ—આંક, ઘાંટું, ડંટું etc.

જોમટતર—દહિં, અદિં, મદિં, પડં, ફૂંપટ, ફૂંવારો, ઊંવાઢં; etc.

જોમટતમ—ઢું, તાઢં, કાઢં, પાઢં, આઢું, ડઢું; etc.

(Note:—પાઢું, તાઢું, &c. end in a **જોમટતમ** *anusvara*, but their plurals—પાઢાં, તાઢાં &c.—end in a **જોમટ** one.)

(11) **સંયોગ** a combination of two or more consonants without any vowel to link them together.

(12) **સંયોગદોર**—Is the elision of one member out of a **સંયોગ**.

(No. 11 is an old **સંજ્ઞા**, No. 12 is coined by me).

(13) **વિષ્લેષ** is the dissolution of the members of a conjunct, accompanied by the interpolation of an **અ** between them.

Examples.—

Sanskrit	Gujarati
S. વર્ષઃ	વર્ષમ
S. આખયઃ	આખયો
S. એષ્ટા	એષ્ટમ

(Note—Vararuchi (III-39) calls this by the name **વિચ્છેદ**. I have adopted **વિષ્લેષ** in preference, as having a clearer meaning. Hemachandra does not give any specific term for this in any special *śikṣā* but incidentally uses the term **વિચ્છેદ** in his *gloss* on

his *sūtra* VIII-ii-75:—विप्रकर्षे तु कृष्णकृत्स्नशब्दयोः कसणो कसिणो. It is also known in the *Prātisākhya* as स्वरभक्ति.⁵)

(14) सवल संयोग-निर्वल संयोग.

The former is a conjunct wherein both (or all) the members are fully i. e. strongly uttered.

[As a result of it the preceding short vowel will carry two मात्राs as a *guru* (heavy) vowel (as per Pāṇini's rule संयोगे गुरु, I-iv-11].

The latter is a conjunct one or more members whereof are imperfectly i. e. weakly uttered. (In consequence of this the preceding short vowel will remain लघु i. e. carry one मात्रा only:—Pāṇini, I-iv-10 ह्रस्वं लघु]

Examples:—

	S.	Pr.
सवल संयोग—	कृष्णः	कण्ठो
	श्लक्ष्णं	लण्डं
	कर्म	कम्म

(Gujarātī Tatsamas), सद्यः, सत्य, etc.

5. स्वरभक्ति is strictly confined to conjuncts of which either र् or ऌ is the first member. In Gujarātī the process of dissolution extends to other conjuncts even, e. g. रत्न (Skr.), रतन (G.), यत्न (Skr.), जतन (G.); जन्म (Skr.), जनम (G), &c.

The term स्वरभक्ति indicates the process of separation (भक्ति) of the consonants and also the means which causes the separation, viz स्वर; whereas विप्रकर्ष and विरेष indicate simply the process of separation स्वरभक्ति may therefore claim superiority over the names विप्रकर्ष or विरेष. But, on the other hand, it may be claimed for the two latter names that स्वर is a superfluous part in as much as the भक्ति, separation, of two consonants necessarily implies the wedging in of a vowel, for without it there would be no splitting apart of the conjunct, the separated consonants would (without the vowel coming in) re-unite into a conjunct, like the divided halves of the body of Jarāsandha, which, as the Puranic myth tells us, get joined together each time they were cut asunder, until a Śira-linga was placed in between. The vowel does the work of Śira-linga in the case of विरेष.

For further remarks See Note A at the end of this Lecture.

निर्वन्त संयोग—(Pr.) अन्ते, अन्तारं, तुन्ते, तुन्दारं; etc.

(Guj.) च्चन, च्चुं, च्चुं, च्चानी, च्चया, च्चयं,
अंश्य, च्च्यारं, च्च्यारं, च्च्यारं; etc.

These are not the same as the strong and weak nexuses treated of by Mr. Beames (Vol: I Pages 281 ff.) His mixed nexus or even weak nexus would give our संयोजः—e. g. mixed nexus—च्चयण, च्चय, etc.; weak nexus—अचयण, च्चय—etc. The principle in his classification is the phonetic possibilities of the letters; whereas my classification has for its principle the degree of effort put forth in the sounding of the letters.

It will be noticed that निर्वन्त संयोग is caused by one of the components being a व्युत्पन्न य or व.

(15) व्युत्पन्न—means metathesis, interchange of letters, whether vowels or consonants, from one part of a word to another. e. g. S. विद्याः, Pr. विद्या, Guj. विद्या.

This term is used by Himschandra in his *sūtra* VIII-ii-116. Vararuchi calls it स्थितिपरिवृत्तिः (ir-28)—rather a cumbersome word.

(16) संप्रसारण is a well known old term signifying the change of य, व, इ, ए to इ, उ, क, ख. (इगुणः संप्रसारणम् Panini I-i-45).

We shall here in our inquiry have to deal with the संप्रसारण of य and व only.

(17) प्रतिप्रसारण or घनीभार is a name which I give to the process opposite to संप्रसारण, whereby the letters इ and उ (under certain circumstances) get thickened as it were into य and व; e. g.

S.	Pr.	Guj.
चोरिण	चोरण	चोरण
मायकः	मायण	मायण
देर	दर-दर	
देरुं	देरुं	देरुं

Acc.

I use the term घनीभाव because, whereas in संप्रसारण the semi-vowels become as it were expanded and liquified into vowels, here in प्रतिसंप्रसारण, the vowels become as it were congealed and thickened into the semi-vowel state.

(18) प्रक्षेप or प्रक्षिप्त is the name given to any letter which gets added in a word, without any apparent cause; e. g.

इ	कोटि	(कौडी)	करोड (ten millions)
ह	{ मंगलपुर	मंगलवर	मंगलदुर (Kāṅkaḷadé-prabandha)
	{ प्राप्तं	पत्तं	प्लोत्तं
य्	वदनं	वअणं	वयण
व्	Guj.-रीसायां	रीसाव्यां	(रसिक संगीते राधा)
	प्रोतं	प्रोयं	परोव्यं etc.

(19) स्वरयुग्म means a vocalic group, i. e. juxtaposed vowels not combined into any change by means of sandhi. (This is peculiar to the Prākṛits). A स्वरयुग्म may be at the end of a word or be medial.

Examples:—	धृतं	विअं	...	} Here इअ अइ and अउ are स्वरयुग्मs.
	कृत्वा	करिअ	...	
	वैरं	वइरं	..	
	प्रविशति	पइसइ	...	
	कः पुनः	कउण	...	
	मुहुल	मउल	...	

(20) विच्छेद, अर्धविच्छेद, संकर and संसृष्टि.

(a) विच्छेद (or वर्णविच्छेद)—is the splitting up of the elementary sounds which have merged into the body of a complex sound; e. g.—(Skṛ.) भगिनी—(Pr.) बहिणी. Here the constituents of the complex sound भ (aspirated व्), i. e. the व् and ह् which have combined to give the भ sound, are split up entirely in the final stage बहिणी.

(b) अर्धविच्छेद is the incomplete splitting up of such elementary sounds, wherein the two components stand in the state of a conjunct; e. g. अभिनवं—अद्दिनवं (in a transitional stage)—(then अवनवं).

Here the \mathbb{A} and \mathbb{B} constituting \mathbb{A} are split up, but do not separate and stay apart, but stop short at the stage of the conjunct \mathbb{A} .

(NOTE:—In the case of *विन्दे* there is of course a preliminary stage of *अपविन्दे*,—*मगिनी* passes through the midway stage of *वृद्धिनी* and then comes the final stage *वृद्धिनी*,⁷ while in the case of *अपविन्दे* there is no further final separation, even though the phonetic condition may exist only in a transitional form.

Thus the two, विच्छेद and अविच्छेद, may often represent two stages, ultimate and penultimate)

(c) **संक्षर** or **गणसंक्षर** is the process whereby two sounds combine to fuse into a new complex sound; the complex sound so resulting is also called by this term, **संक्षर**. E. g. **गभीरं** (SKr), **गर्हीरं** (Pr.) **पेरं** (Guj.)

(Strictly speaking when a consonant and a vowel come together in this way, as in उरण्-उरुं-इन् (ह्र+उ), the resultant state is always one of संहर, never संसृष्टि, the nature of a vowel (स्वर) being essentially incompatible with संसृष्टि).

(d) **समृद्धि** or **संयोगसमृद्धि** is the process whereby two elementary sounds come together but, without fusing together into a **संयुक्त**, stop short as a conjunct. I. g.

S.	Pr or Ap	(Gua)
स्वर्ग	तर्ग	गर्ग.
पार्णि:	पर्णी	दर्णी.
भर्णि	भर्णि	दर्नि.
वर्ग:	वर्ग	दर्ग.

(NOTE:—Here in the case of रुद्रि there is no possibility of रु and द्रि fusing into a रुद्रि , there being no complex sound composed

7. This movement of \bar{E} to a higher U^2 is a process parallel to the one generally obtaining in Guardian when \bar{E} had to move to an empty or even first U^2 , as in $\bar{E} \rightarrow \bar{E}^1 - \bar{E}^2$ as

of these two sounds. Only when ए and ह् ए and ह् ए and ह् and such other constituent sounds of a class aspirate come together the question of सवर or समृष्टि arises)

[There are occasional and apparent exceptions, e g अभिज्ञान-अहिष्णाण-अहिणाण-अह्नाण-अधाण. Here ह्+ञ् not stopping at ह्, result into a nasalized ञ. For a further examination of this question see *infra* Lecture IV, Section II under the *utsarga* about the shifting of the situation of ह]

It will be observed also that विच्छेद is a process opposed to सवर, but अर्धविच्छेद is not a step opposed to समृष्टि, but they are both parallel steps, and the resultants of both are alike in form, thus in the समृष्टि in षट्, षट् the ए and ह् and ए and ह् respectively which existed separately in षट् (Deśya) and षट् (Prakrit), came together and stopped in a समृष्टि state, while in अहिन, the सक्तीर्ण भ of अभिन became विच्छिन्न and stopped short at ष. Thus अर्धविच्छेद is the half way step where sound formation stops short when there is a विच्छेद of a संकीर्ण sound *)

(21) अनुपूर्ति is the name I give to an उत्सर्ग which has its origin either direct or indirect in the Prakrit grammar itself, and has a further application to Gujarati word formation

E g

- (a) Direct origin.—The change of ते to ट has its origin in Si. H. VIII-11-29, 30. The difference is that in Prakrit the conjuncts त्त or त्त (really त्त, for त्त would become त्त first) become ट् whereas the further extension to Gujarati applies to simple त्त also.

Thus मृत्तिव-मट्टिवा, वर्ति-वट्टी, but further in Gujarati it applies to simple त्त also e g तिष्ठ-टीड

The extension to conjuncts in words other than those

* The change of the class aspirate into the pure ए noticeable in the passing from Vedic to Classic Sanskrit or from Sanskrit to Prakrit, really involves first a विच्छेद and then the of the unaspirated member e g Vedic मृत् class मृत्, Sin. Lat. मृ, Prakrit मृट् etc

mentioned in Si. Hc. VIII-ii 29, 30 would also constitute an अनुपूर्ति.

E. g. मटिति—मति—मट.

(b) Indirect origin.—Si. Hc. VIII-i-66 indicates the optional dropping of the initial vowel in two words viz:—अटायु and अरण्य; Pr. टायं or अटायं, (टाज or अटज), and रण्य or अरण्य.

This is the distant origin of the Prakrit to Gujarātī वसगं which notes the अव्ययितप्रथमधुनितोष, i. e. the loss of an unaccented initial syllable.

Hemachandra's comment that short अ only is lost and therefore आरण्य would be आरण्य only and not अरण्य also,—affords a key to the principle of loss when the vowel is unaccented.

This अनुपूर्ति may be called मध्नानुपूर्ति while the former सुदानुपूर्ति.

(22) संक्रमणोत्सर्ग or देहली is an उत्सर्ग which does not point to a final crystallized form but marks an intermediate, transitional, step.

E. g. The उत्सर्ग about the change of भ to वृ in अभिनव-अद्विनव-भवनं. As already noted in a previous lecture,* अद्विनव (as also अवनव) can not be found in actual language at any period and so this form serves only to pass on the word to the final stage भवनं.

(Note:—संक्रमणोत्सर्ग is to be distinguished from अव्ययव्यय in that while the former has no final crystallized form answering to it in any case, the latter falls under some उत्सर्ग having final formations, but only in particular cases may not note a final crystallized form. e. g.

अभिनवः—अद्विनवः—अवनवः—भवनं.

1 2 3 4

Here the change of वृ in 2 to भ in 3 represents only a

transitional form but not found in actual language, and yet the general principle of the change of इ to अ is recognised in an उत्सर्ग which has a number of finally crystallized formations for its scope. (तिल तड, etc.).

We can now proceed to the specific phonetic principles or उत्सर्गs we are so long waiting for. These I *Threefold classification of utsargas.* classify under three heads:—

A. उत्सर्गs peculiar to Gujarâtî alone, and not found working in other Indian vernaculars;

B. उत्सर्गs partially peculiar to Gujarâtî, i. e. such as are shared with other Indian vernaculars, but with some variation;

and C. उत्सर्गs jointly shared with other Indian vernaculars, without any variation in their essential nature.

I take up these classes serially:—

I would preface the enumeration and discussion of the उत्सर्गs by two general rules, which may be taken as *Two Adhikâra-sûtras.* अधिकारसूत्रs throughout the treatment, viz:

I. These उत्सर्गs deal with phonetic changes in words in their transit from Prakṛit and Deśya into Gujarâtî, or occasionally from Sanskrit into Gujarâtî direct.

II. बहुलम्; i. e. the applicability of the principles is not necessarily and rigidly universal, it may have exceptions and odd peculiarities; in short, as the effect of the term बहुलम् is aptly described,

कचिदप्रवृत्तिः कचिदप्रवृत्तिः

कचिद् विभाषा कचिदन्यदेव ।

i. e. the rules are applicable to some cases, are inapplicable to others (where apparently they should be), are sometimes optionally applicable, and sometimes quite a new form results.

Bearing in mind these two अविवक्षित we take up the

CLASS A

Utsargas peculiar to Gujarātī alone.

I— यिच्छत अ and आ—

This requires two preliminary उद्देश्य —

1 An unaccented medial इ and an unaccented medial उ undergo प्रतिसंप्रसारण; i. e. they become ए and ओ respectively; provided the इ or उ are preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant.

*Prati-Sampra-
sāraṇa.*

Examples—

Sans.	Pr.	Guj. (Modern and Old) or latest Apabhramśa (O. W. Rajasthānī)
गोरिच	गोरिच	बर्षिच
	गोरिजे (deśya)	बर्षिजे (charcoal)
	परभं („) + इट् term.	पपद्
वेर	वर	ववर ¹⁰
वैरागी	वरगागी	ववरगागी ¹¹
उपविष्टः	उवर्द्धत-वर्द्धत	ववर्द्धत

(भरणं सुखं ववर्द्धत प तीर्थ जायमानं तेह ।

संयोजितमरसोद्गम V. S. 1471—See Mr.

Chimanlal D. Dalal's Paper on Pajana Mss. p. 31)

10 (1) Panchākhyāna (Dr. Tetterton's article in Ind. Arch. April 1914 P. 57).

(2) बर्षिजे वर ली बरगि Vimala Prabhalla (V. S. 1564) Khamla V-25).

We also find वर in *Gutten's Blat* (V. S. 1412), St. 17 and in *Khakhali's Posture Blat*, III, 223, वरि (=वरि) in a translation of *Blutten-Blat* (V. S. 1557) (*Gujarati Sādhya Press*), March 1910 P. 115)

11 (1) *Flora* = Mss. 616, 125 Dr. Tetterton's Article in Ind. Arch. April 1914, P. 24.

(2) *Gutten's Blat* St. 35.

also *Vaidāla Panchavīsī* (Prose), V. S. 1629, P. 88; वयड, Do. P. 100, वयेड, Do. P. 104; पयड Do. P. 136; पयड in *Gautama Rāsa*, St. 9).

[For further instances see under *utsarga* III *infra*, the divisions (a)—(1), rare cases under (c) and (d).]

[This principle operates in all grammatical formations in Modern Gujarātī, e. g.—

बाई (a woman) + लो { a termination
denoting con-
tempt here } = बायलो (i. e. effeminate,
womanish).

भाई { a brother;
hence, a man } + लो { स्वार्थे-
termination } = भायडो (a man,
a husband)

बाई (a woman) + डी { स्वार्थे
termination } = बायडी (a woman)].

उ to व

Skr.	Pr. or Apabhr.	Interm.	G.
अधुना	अहुणा	हडणा	हवणा
गौरी	गडरी		गवरी
			(in proper names as अंवागवरी तारागवरी and the like).

[*Si. Hc.* VIII-i-162 notes the change of औ to अउ in पौरा-
दिगण; गौरी is not enumerated in that गण, and it is not stated to
be an आकृतिगण. We must therefore take गौरी-गडरी as an instance
developed later on.]

S.	Pr. or Apabhr.	Interm.	G.
नाथककः	नाहुड्ड	नाहुड्ड नाड्ड	नाड्लो (husband)
	वाडली (<i>dīḍya</i>)	वाडली	वाडली (a doll)
देवकुलं	देउलं		देयळ
नपुरं	नेउर		नेयर

(the fetlocks of a

horse. घोडाના મેર
વાગેટે=the horse
knocks the fet-
locks against each
other)

આવુવ્યં	આઝગઝ આઝગઝં	આઝગું
માનર	માઝરઝ	માઝરો
(possible Apabhramśa) (mothers)		
(Si. He VIII-iii-46 gives માભરાઝ as Prakrit).		

વાઝુલઝ:	વાઝઝઝ	વાઝરો
માઝુજા	માઝરી	માઝરી
વાઝુજા	વાઝરી	વાઝરી ¹²
	દેઝાઝર	દેઝાઝર

[Note—દેઝાઝર is found in *Kunhala Prabandha*, IV, 12 also in *Vimala-prabandha*, I, 60, and *Varaha-purchariti* (poem) P. 3, st. 21, also P. 62, st. 616. આઝગું is found in the *Arachchit* to *Dafarail* in *Sitra*, VIII, 34. મઝરી is found in *Siddhantara-Vimlata*, also in the song of Javanta Sonigaro V. S. 1670, extract given by Dr. Tessitori in his article on Bardic Survey in J. A. S. Beng. N. S. XII, 1916 A. D., and મિઝરી in *Kur'ra Manjari Clauva* (V. S. 1605), also in *Utharava* by Janardana (V. S. 1546), Kadavun N. 1 1.]

[In old Gujarati an ઙ is changed to ઘ even when preceded by a consonant, e. g.

જુલજુલે મોઢુઢિ માનરિયો
મોઢપંન વરિન જરિ ધરિયો
વરિયુ મોઢી મોઢ્યંદો

(*Padmanatha*, V. S. 1715 Me. In *Gujarati Sita Patra* Vol. XII May). મિઝી turned into ઘઝી (I.E.S. *Anna K'asaka*, *Phara*

12. The *સિદ્ધાન્તરા* is found in the *Varaha Purchariti*, P. 3, st. 21, also P. 62, st. 616. I have not been able to find it in any other work.

of *ja*, P 81, l 16 P 83 l 13, P 102, l 20) will also illustrate this change of इ to य even when preceded by a consonant]

(The genesis of प्रतिसप्रसारण may be thus, when the इ-उ find themselves in a subordinate position they seek, as it were, some support for self preservation, and an adventitious अ steps in to furnish such support resulting in the usual sandhi: इ+अ=य and उ+अ=व Pāṇini's rule इको यणचि operates here, this rule is practically the reverse process of इण्यणः सप्रसारणम् The change of यण् to इक् being called सप्रसारण that of इक् to यण् may well be termed प्रतिसप्रसारण or anti *samprasāraṇa*)

(2) An unaccented medial ए becomes य and an unaccented medial ओ becomes व provided the ए or ओ is preceded by a vowel and followed by a consonant

Examples —

S	Pr or Apabhr	G
गृहीतम्	¹³ घएलउ घयलउ	घलो

[Note — (a) घयलउ here is but a transitional form and if no other instances can be found, this would be a सन्नमणोत्सर्ग.

(b) This will be only so far as the progress from Prakrit into Gujarati is concerned for in Gujarati itself in grammatical changes the principle of this *utsarja* operates, e g गएलो-गयलो (Surati Gujarati) Consequently the paucity of instances need not vitiate this *utsarga*]

पाद	पाओ (+term ल)	पाउड
,	, (+term ड)	पावड

[Note — A final ओ, when unaccented, becomes व in some cases e g

पाद	पाओ	पाव
घात	घाओ	घाव

but this result can either be accounted for by the change of ओ to उ and then to व or by the Apabhraṃśa forms ending in उ (पाउ, घाउ) changing their उ to व by the प्रतिसप्रसारण process]

(2) A द्रुततर अ is dropped.

Dr. Tessitori of a
druta tara अ

Example —

S.	Pr. or Apabh.	G.
अहम्	अह-हं	हं
वदं	वदव	वद
अघाति	अघाति-अज्ज	हजी
पद्मा	पच्छ-पछ	पछी
	पदभो (D. 19a)	पदियो (can. 19a).

[Dr. Tessitori (Notes on the Grammar of the O. W. Rajasthani) § 83) derives the Apabh हं from अहम् (Skr.). I believe हं is evolved out of अह by metathesis and the usual Apabhraṇṣa change of a final अ to ह. This dispenses with the unnecessary and rather queer importation of the व termination. However Vatsirha's *Prakṛta Pral.* I, XI, 9 gives अहवे as Magadhi for अहम्.]

The *utorgs* about विट् अ and अि may now be laid down —
Enunciation —

UTSARG 1

The विट् (i.e.
wide) part of
अ and अि, विट्
and अपविट्.

- (1) Under the operation of *utorgs* (1) and
- (2) mentioned above medial अ and अइ as well as medial अय and अइ are transitionally changed into अय and अइ, and these are finally changed into the wide अ and अि respectively

(The term *media* is used here to exclude the *real* अइ-अइ it may therefore be regarded as inclusive of initial अइ-अइ as in अविज्ञान—अहिम्ना—अज्ञान—अज्ञान, अगति—अगति—अगति. Perhaps a neutral word would be a better term.)

पृष्ठपत्रं छट्टं or मट्टं	पट्टपत्रं-पट्टपत्रं मट्ट	पट्टि मट्टि (a tiara worn by a bride, also by the mother of a bride or of a bride- groom)
गौरी	गउरी	गरिय (the goddess worshipped by maidens in the month, <i>Āṣṭādī</i>).
चतुरस्रं चतुर्गुणं	चउरसु चउगु	चरिस चरिः (a square)
गवाधः	गवधु	गवि
वसिष्ठ	वसिष्ठ वसु	वडि
वपस्विता	ववस्विता	वपरी
समर्पयति	समप्येत् समप्यत् समप्यत् सियत्	संवे वण
वः पुनः	वउण वउण	वण्डियो
वसन्तः	वसन्तः	वसि
मरमी	मरमी	मसि (the ninth day in a half month)
अन्यथा	अन्यथा अन्यथा	अन्यथा मसि

14. मट्टि is more commonly current than मट्ट. I find मट्टि used by Mr. Nāṇāḍī Dalaj strām Kavi in his Introduction to a poem by Triśūvan Iśāmaṅkar, entitled *Ka'lipa Virodha* at p. 18, line 3. A dramatic play entitled *दुषी छतर* by Mr. Maṇḍanakaṛ B. Iḥatta and another I as this same word, at p. 135, line last but one. (In a letter dated 1st June 1917 Mr. Maṇḍanakaṛ Iḥatta, addressed to me in reply to my inquiry, disclaims all knowledge of and responsibility for this word, saying that the portion in question was written by his collaborator Mr. Dīḡḡḡḡ who is a Turgūḡḡ, belonging to Vāṭanavara. Mr. Nāṇāḍī Kavi has not favoured me with a reply to my repeated inquiries regarding the use of

Examples:—

विवृत अ	Skr.	Pr. or Apabhr.	G.
	वैरं	वइरु	वर
	प्रविष्टकः	पइठुउ	पठो
	उपविष्टकः	उवइठुउ वइठउ	बठो
	प्रविशति	पविसइ पइसइ	पसे
	उपविशति	उवविसइ उवइसइ वइसइ	बसे
	वधिरकः	वधिरउ वइरउ	व्हरो
	सिधिलकं	सिधिलउं सधिलउं	स्हलें
	मइलउं (<i>Dīśya</i>)		भलें
	(Skr. मलिनकं or Ap. मइलउं)		
	लइलु („)		लल
	वदिलउं („)	वइलउं	व्हलें
		वइलउं	
	वइंगण („)		वंगण

नयनं	नयणु	नण
वचनं	वयणु	वण
रजनी	रयणी	रण
ग्रहणं	ग्रहणु वयणु	घन (=intoxication)
	<i>Dīśya</i>	
	अयाली	अयली
		हली (=incessant rain).

अर्धविवृत ए:—

Pr. or Apabhr. or <i>Dīśya</i>	G.
करइ	करे
बोलइ	बोले
Post Apabhr. लइ (later form of अलइ-अलइ)	ले
घरनइ (dative term. नइ)	घरने

विवृत अ—

झकुलं

मउल

मरि (Mango flowers)

टुपुटां	पट्टुटां-पट्टुटां	पट्टु
एट्टं or मट्टं	मट्ट	मट्ट (a tiara worn by a bride, also by the mother of a bride or of a bridegroom.)
गौरी	गवरी	गवरी (the goddess worshipped by maidens in the month, <i>Ashadha</i>).
चतुरस्रं	चतुरस्र	चरिस
चतुर्णः	चतुर्ण	चार्ण (a square)
गवाधः	गवधु	गवध
कवित्थं	कवित्थु कवट्टु	कवट्ट
कवर्त्तिका	कवर्त्तिभा	कवट्टी
समर्पयति	समर्पेत् समर्पय	
	समर्पय सैयय	संयि
कः पुनः	कवण कवण	कवण
कवट्टकवः	कवट्टभट्ट	कवट्टिपो
नवमी	नवमी	नवमि (the ninth day in a half-month)
अन्यपक्षः	अन्यपक्षी	अनर्णु ^{1 4}
	अन्यपक्ष	नर्णु

14. कर्णु is more commonly current than अनर्णु. I find अनर्णु used by Mr. Nimm Dalapatram Kavi in his Introduction to a poem by Tribhuvan Prémakankar, entitled *Kudiyana Varuko*, at p. 13, line 3. A dramatic play entitled *कुटीयाना* by Mr. Manikankar B. Bhatta and another has this same word, at p. 133, line last but one. (In a letter dated 1st June 1917 Mr. Manikankar Bhatta, addressed to me in reply to my letter, disclaims all knowledge of and responsibility for this word, saying that the portion in question was written by his collaborator, Mr. Dityam who is a Terapalli, belonging to Valanagara. Mr. Nimm Kavi has not favoured me with a reply to my repeated inquiries regarding the use of

Let us try and analyze this *utsarga* in a different manner now.

I have said that this *utsarga* is peculiar to Gujarati and Marathi phonology. It does not operate in Marathi or Hindi or any other hundred vernaculars. Well, let us compare the sounds in Gujarati Marathi and Hindi

this word. But this much is certain that अनखि is in use in some parts of Gujarati. This form of the word furnishes a valuable link between नखि and its origin (अन्यपक्षक)

Hemachandra (S; Hē VIII iv 422) gives नवख as an *ādēśa* of नव. This नवख (नवखड) may be advanced as the original of नखि and with apparent reason. But there are some strong points in favour of अन्यपक्षक as the origin of नखि they are —

- (a) One of the Mss. of S; Hē gives the reading नवख instead of नवख (See S. P. Pandit's Edition of *Kumārā Pāla Charita* Appendix, P. 198 note 18)
- (b) अनखि is, in fact, used, even if rarely, in some parts of Gujarati.
- (c) अनखि is found freely used in Hindi literature
- (d) The ख or वख tacked on to नव by Hemachandra appears quite inexplicable and its arbitrary nature leaves a mystery, while अन्यपक्षक supplies a good explanation of the वख and eventual ख

Thus, it is clear that नवख, really an evolutive of अन्यपक्षक before Hemachandra's time was regarded by him as an *ādēśa* of नव on the strength of the eventual similarity of sense and external similarity in sound, and ignoring the real phonetic phases, especially the loss of the unaccented initial syllable in अनवखड.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhānūkar derives अनख (H) from अनपेक्ष (क), (His Philological Lectures, P. 168). But, with all respect, I give preference to अन्यपक्षक for reasons that will be seen at once.

- (1) अनपेक्षक would be अनपेखड in Prākṛit. Now the ण remains unchanged in Gujarati (See *infra*, the *utsarga* about the change of ण to न), whereas अनखि has a न
- (2) It may be questioned whether अनखि means 'unexpected' in Hindi. I should think it has the same sense as the Gujarati नखि, viz. 'separate', 'unusual'. True the sense may be altered but it involves some wrench.
- (3) The प in पे will have to be changed to अ, and there seems no phonetic ground for it.

G.	M.	H.
दल्लुं	दल्ले	देलना
बन	बेन	बेन
गेर	गेर (form गरिह skr.)	गेर
मल्ले	मल्ले	मेलना
चोपुं	चोपे	चोपा
चोर	चोर	चोर
चोरी	चोरी	चोरी
चोरन	चोरन	चोरन

[In the case of M. चोपा there is an exception in the form of the alternative चपा].

If we watch and compare the sounds in the above words as spoken by the people, we shall find marked differences in each of the three languages. While each is evolved out of the contactual vocalic groups अइ and अउ (or out of अय and अर), the Gujarati sound is a distinctly wide one (as in "hit" and awl), making a complete fusion of the अ and इ and अ and उ, the Marathi sound leans more towards इ and उ and makes the resulting diphthong narrow, while the Hindi sound, leaning more towards the अ of the vocalic groups (अइ-अउ), approximates the wide sound of Gujarati upto a certain point, but stops short there, and is not the same wide, fused sound as the Gujarati one. At the same time the Hindi sound is not the pure diphthongal sound of Sanskrit, but resembles अय अर a good deal thus making the symbols ^२ and ^३ wrong indicators strictly speaking. This is indicated indirectly by the fact noted by Mr. Beames (Vol I, p 5) that (even) the dual o (औ) in old Hindi has a wide pronunciation like aw. Much more so would it sound wide I would say, in medial औ.

(The Pargali language does possess a wide औ of a peculiar kind; but that is not the outcome of any अइ or अउ in the antecedent phonetic state, it is the peculiar pronunciation of औ as in वरौ (pronounced as वरिरी), बमर (pronounced as बमिउ) and so

forth. It may therefore be distinguished and excluded from the examination under which we shall place the Gujarātī विवृत sound).

Now, a few instances of words which have come into Gujarātī from Arabic and Persian will help us in our work here. They are words like the following:—

<i>Instances of the wide sound in words of Persian and Arabic origin</i>	Arabic or Persian	Guj.
	गयूरत	गरत
	गयूब	गब
	अयूब	अब
	हयूरान	हरान
	कबूल	कलि
	etcetera.	etcetera.

Again consider these words:—

झहर	झर
कहर	कर
शहर	शहर

In these words the steps of phonetic mutation are:—

कहर—कहअर—कअर—कपर—कर;
 शहर—शहअर—शहपर—शहर (शहर);
 झहर—झअर—झपर—झर.

I need not repeat that these serial steps are not given as represented, in all their stages, in actual writing; it could not be the case. All that is intended is to indicate the course through which the phonetic current must have run. The strong probability of this course will be seen when we remember that the ह sound (as will be shown hereafter) has a general tendency to shift from the centre to the beginning of words; thus, in these cases, leaving an अय sound which forms the eventual wide अ. For, if you sound the अय and अय in all the abovenamed words, as also in the words वयूर, वयूब, कवूर, गवूर, and the like mentioned before, you

will notice the peculiar वित्त nature of the photal process which alone can give the Gujarati वित्त अ and आ

Now, let us examine the sound in the following words on the basis of accentuation —

An examination of
the rule stand on
the basis of acen-
tuation.

	Skr.	Pr. Apabhr	G
(a) गर्भीरव	15 गर्भादे	परदे	पेट
(b) चंपवनगरी	चंपानभरी	चंपानपुरी	चंपानहरी चांपानेर
(Similarly वाफोरे, भमज्जने, वीरानेर and the like)			
(c) अपहार	अंपभार	16 अंपयर	अपेर
	अपहार	अपहर	
(d) पण्डपनी	पण्डाणी	पण्डाजी	पानोली
		पण्डाजी	(the name of a village in Surat District).
(e) चतुर्गंध	चतुर्गन्ध	चतुर्गन्ध	चौद
(f) चतुर्ग	चतुर्ग	चतुर्ग	चौद

15 True, the case of $\frac{1}{2}$ does not fall under the principle we are considering because of the long $\frac{1}{2}$, but it is taken for that very reason, as the long $\frac{1}{2}$ furnishes a sure test, showing, as it does, that the long $\frac{1}{2}$ which is necessarily accepted, comes in the way of $\frac{1}{2}$.

(In ० नगरी the ५ of नदरी, because of its accent on ५, takes its place in subordinating the ex, as in the tendency of the first member ५ and is the ५ gets the accent transmitted to it also.)

[illegible]

10. Dr. S. H. G. J. de Vries says he knows of no other cases of this kind, but that he has seen a few cases of this kind, and that he has seen a few cases of this kind.

II	(a)	वैर	वरु	वयर	वर
	(b)	वपरिना	वत्रहिभा	कपडी	फाडी
	(c)	पृथुलक	पहुलउं	पडलउं	फाड
	(d)	भानुजाया	भाउजाआ	भाउजाई	
				भवजाई	भाजाई
	(e)	अन्यपक्ष	अन्यवक्त्र	अनयसु	अनसुं

(then नसुं=separate).

In group I you will observe that in the vocative groups (स्वरगुण), अइ (अई)—अउ (अऊ), the accent is on the second member, whereas in Group II it is on the first member, i. e. on अ. Now, the स्थान of अ is कण्ठ and the wide sound is produced by a

direct from आउ. (See his Wilson Philological Lectures, Pp 100 and 145, though I note that he has not given the Gujarati words, but only अंधेर as H and M and भाजाइ H भावजाइ M. and पौन H) But I believe these must pass through the shortening stage shown above, cf इतिष्ठान—पड्डाग—पड्डण—पड्डण (The principle of बीजशब्द works here) The shortening of the आ is the effect of the accent being on the following syllable initially but as soon as this effect is secured the accent shifts and falls on the shortened आ=अ and this yields the विष्णु sound through the अय्-अ change. This shifting of the accent is a curious phenomenon, very interesting to pursue in the analytical investigation of word formations.

17 Here, although वक्त्र leaves व accented at the early stage, the accent gives way under the double influence of

- (1) The simplification of the conjunct वक्त्र, without the compensating lengthening of the preceding vowel

and

- (2) The tendency to accentuate the second syllable or a word where the first syllable is unaccented and eventually therefore gets dropped.

(The change of व in वय् to व indicates that the word is become a part of the whole compound and hence the व is evidently subordinated, an uninitial व can be changed into व, and so वय् is not regarded here as a distinct word)

peculiar ¹widening of the φ or glottis. This vĩṛṇ nature of अ is it as the source of the wide sound in अँ and अँ and it is helped by the φ and φ as noted above (*Vide Pp. 134, 135 supra*), of course under the operation of the accent falling on it.

The alternative evolutions of गौरी viz (a) गौरी (a fair woman) and (b) गौरी (the goddess worshipped by maidens in the month of *Āśvīn*), i. e. the narrow sound in the case of (a) and the wide sound in that of (b), can thus be accounted for by the shifting of accent from one member to the other in the vocalic group अउ in the word.

An examination of some *apparent* exceptions,—apparent ones only, be it remembered,—will go further to support the theory I advance about the vĩṛṇ sound being due to the accentuation of the अ in the प्रत्ययः , अँ and अँ —

Some apparent exceptions; their support of the theory

Sanskrit	Prākṛit or Apabhramśa & further steps	Gujarātī	Remarks as to causes etc
1 गुरुभरक	गहड़ड गहगड गहइड	गपेडो	<p>The accent on ग (which is <i>guru</i> because of the conjunct next after it) deprives the अ in अग of its accent and consequent preponderance. Hence the ग gets accented and its अ is not <i>ह्रस्व</i> and therefore not dropped. Thus अग is not formed which alone would give the wide अ. Consequently the ग undergoes <i>samprasāraṇa</i> and thus अ and इ unite into a narrow ए.</p> <p>NOTE.—The accent here is to be considered as relative between अ and इ (or उ) and not with reference to the word as a whole.</p> <p>(a) ग in गह is <i>guru</i> and hence accented (b) तर begins a new sense bearing portion of the word, Hence the अ of अग remains unaccented and the ग gets accented.</p> <p>Result as above अ + इ = ए (narrow)</p> <p>Causes and results as above <i>mutatis mutandis</i> (of also वहेरु from वृहतर similarly Dr Bhandarkar (his Lectures, P. 14) thinks वहेरो (S) is formed by adding the termination र. But तर would properly account for the गरो in रहेरो)</p>
2 वरमतर	वच्छगरड वच्छइरड	वछेरो (= १ coll.)	
3 वनतर	वणगरड वणइरड	वणेठ	
4 भदतर	भटगरड भटइरड	भरेठ	
5 अन्यतर	अभगरड अभइरड	अनेठ	

19 Dr Tassitori would put टक here as a precursor of ट

The change of π to η (which can occur only if the letter is initial) shows that $\eta\pi$ is only a part of the whole word. Consequently the accent, not falling on π , falls on η , which therefore undergoes $\eta\pi \rightarrow \eta\eta$.

Result $\eta + \eta = \eta$ (narrow.)

The η here is the residue of the beginning of the root portion of $\eta\pi + \eta\eta$, retains its predominance, and is therefore accented, and escapes $\eta\eta$'s contraction. Result $\eta + \eta = \eta$ (narrow.)

NOTE.—In $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ ($\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$) the result is different (i. e. the $\eta\eta$ has the accent on η and hence the η becoming subordinate becomes η , giving the broad sound in $\eta\eta$), although the conditions are *apparently* similar to those in $\eta\eta\eta\eta$. In that the η left from $\eta\eta$ is the initial syllable of the root portion of $\eta\eta + \eta\eta$. The reason is that in $\eta\eta$ the accent is on η to start with, and the loss of the unaccented initial η of $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ (giving $\eta\eta\eta$ as the next step) strengthens the accent on the η (η , the evolute of η), which becomes initial in a compact root-like formation, $\eta\eta\eta$. Thus the accent falls on the η of $\eta\eta$ and not on η . One little fact may seem to go against the explanation, viz., that the elision of η in $\eta\eta$ would indicate that the root portion is not regarded as a separate word (such elision being always in the case of initial consonants). But it may be held rightly that

$\eta\eta\eta$

$\eta\eta$

$\eta\eta\eta\eta$

$\eta\eta\eta\eta$

$\eta\eta\eta\eta$

$\eta\eta\eta\eta$

Sanskrit	Prakrit or Apabhramga & further steps	Gujarati	Remarks as to causes etc
8 ० नगरी	० नगरी ० नहरी	० नेर, as in चापनेर, अमळनेर, नगर and such other names of towns	<p>for the purpose of accentuation the root nature of न still clings to it and hence its operation in changing the अ to ए direct)</p> <p>The reason here may at first sight seem difficult to find Dr Tessitori accounts for the narrow sound by regarding the penultimate ए as a final one because the final अ is quiescent (Vide P 78 of his article on Bardic Survey J A S Being N S XII 1916 A D) I think there is another and a better explanation Although the न, as beginning नगरी would naturally be accented yet it is the ग (and its evolute य) that is accented here because नगरी as the second member in these compounds (चपनगरी etc) is a subordinate element and hence the initial य occupies a secondary place and loses its accentuation in favour of the following syllable ग and its evolute य As a result the अ in अय remains unaccented and its tendency to widen the glottis becomes inoperative the य becomes इ, and अ + इ unite into a narrow ए</p>
9 अन्वकार	अन्वकार अन्व अन्व	अन्व	<p>The अ in अन्व is distinctly accented in the shortened stage the अ in य retains this accent hence the first अ in अन्व remains subordinate and unaccented, consequently य becomes इ and अ + इ = ए (narrow)</p>

(With this may be contrasted the cases of मृगि and मृग where the मृ , obviously accented, transmits its accent to its successor ग , and thus the first member in मृग-मृग is accented, yielding the wide मृ-ग as a result. Also contrast the case of मृगि -from मृग-ग - मृगि (changed to ० ग masculine) मृगिग . Dr. Trauttoriderives the word thus; see his "Notes" § 148. Here too the conditions are the same, turning मृग to मृ .

२० मृग

मृगिग
 मृगिग

10 मृगिग

(a) ग , coming between ग and ग , has to be emphasized in order to be pronounced distinctly and clearly, especially as all the three end in ग ;

(b) The final ग ending in ग becomes subordinate;

Hence the ग is predominant and accented, and the ग of मृग is unaccented. Result:— ग becomes ग and the मृ+ग=ग (narrow).

२१ मृगिग
 मृगिग
(मृगिग II)

मृगिग
 मृगिग

11 मृगिग

The ग is *guru*, because of the conjunct (गग) after it, and, being thus accented, it leaves the ग of मृग unaccented. Result:— मृग narrow.

20. "२० मृगिग मृगिग मृगिग मृगिग " (Pramāṇa; Nāṭyaśāstra, XV).

21. The ग ending of this word seems to be the result of a false analogy: the Hindi गिग appearing like the plural of गिग , and the Hindi masculine गिग ending corresponding to the गिग ending in Gujarati.

Sanskrit.	Prahrit or Apabhramśa & further steps.	Gujarātī.	Remarks as to causes, etc.
12 कण्वडिका	कसण्वडिआ कसण्वड्डी कसण्वड्डी	कसण्वडी (= a touch stone).	<p>(a) The <i>व</i> has its <i>अ</i> made <i>guru</i> by the following conjunct;</p> <p>(b) The <i>व</i> begins a new word; (although a second member of a compound it retains its independence for purposes of accent),</p> <p>(c) <i>स</i> ends the first word in the compound;</p> <p>These causes render the <i>अ</i> of <i>स</i> (<i>व</i>) unaccented, because <i>व</i> is accented. Result—<i>अव</i> becomes <i>अउ</i> (उ accented) and <i>अ+उ</i> change to <i>औ</i> (narrow).</p>
13 पणवण्डी	पणवण्ड्डी पणवण्ड्डी पणवण्ड्डी	पणवण्डी (name of a village in the Sarat district)	<p>(a) The <i>अ</i> in <i>व</i> is <i>guru</i> and accented;</p> <p>(b) The <i>अ</i> in <i>व</i> is also <i>guru</i> and accented;</p> <p>(c) <i>व</i> begins a new word (as in the case of No. 12 above);</p> <p>(d) The <i>अ</i> in <i>वण</i> ends the first word of the compound,</p> <p>Result—<i>अ</i> is above,—<i>अव-अउ</i> (<i>अउ</i>),—<i>औ</i> (narrow).</p>

11

- (a) $\eta\tau$ is τ and accented.
 (b) $\tau(\kappa)$ is long and accented. The ϵ both are
 accented.
 (c) τ begins a new word (as above).
 (d) The χ in χ ends the first word of a compound.
 Hence the χ of $\chi-\tau$ (i.e. the χ in $\chi\kappa$) is 'ordinate
 mate and therefore unaccented —

Result — $\chi+\kappa=\chi\kappa$ (narrow)

Leaves the same χ alone, $\chi\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$

Result — $\chi+\kappa=\chi\kappa$ (narrow)

(Note — It need not be pointed out that the last
 two instances, $\tau\tau\tau\tau$ and $\chi\tau\tau\tau$ are given here for the
 same purpose for which $\eta\tau\tau$ is included above, viz. to
 show how $\tau\tau$ is compressed and prevented by the long τ
 and the consequent accent on it, in other words, the
 deficiency in the conditions requisite for the $\tau\tau$ sound.

- (a) The τ is strong on account of the subsequent
 conjunct.
 (b) $\tau\tau$ is a separate word, for the purposes of
 accent.
 (c) The final χ of $\eta\tau\chi$ occupies a subordinate
 position.
 Result as before — $\chi+\tau(\kappa)=\chi\tau$ (narrow)

12

$\eta\tau\tau\tau$ $\eta\tau\tau\tau$ $\eta\tau\tau\tau$

$\tau\tau\tau\tau$

$\tau\tau\tau\tau$
 $\tau\tau\tau\tau$

13

$\eta\tau\tau\tau$

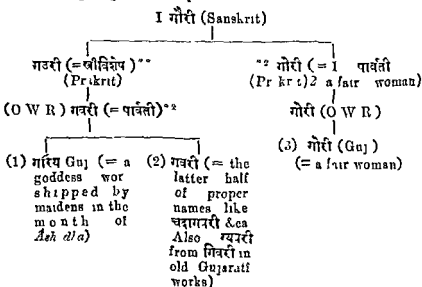
$\eta\tau\tau\tau$
 $\eta\tau\tau\tau$

$\eta\tau\tau\tau$

All these facts, noted above, will go to show

- (a) That when in the vocalic group अइ or अउ, अ is accented, the इ-उ, getting subordinate, the ultimate result is the wide sound अ-आ
- (b) That when in these groups the इ-उ are accented their prominence leads to the uniting of अ and इ and अ and उ into the narrow ए and ओ
- (c) That the wide sound is akin to अय्-अय् rather than to अइ-अउ
- (d) That the इ-उ when subordinate turn into य-य (and then य् य्),
- and (e) That thus the wide sound is the result of अय्-अय् and the narrow one is the result of अइ-अउ

Let us now look at two or three comparative instances from identical words to further illustrate pointedly the operation of these principles, I put them in the form of a genealogical tree for the sake of giving a clear impression



Here, Gujarāṭī has (1) गरिय (2) ° गउरी, and (°) गौरी each

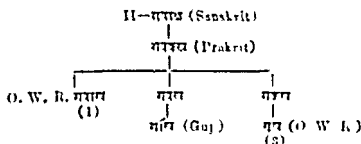
22 Vide. Kumārapāla charita' V, 80 IV, 56 and I 75 et cetera Also Index to it (Edited by S P Pandit).

in a different sense, and the phonetic processes are different, as under.—

(1) अ॒य-अ॒य-अ॒य-अ॒, (it is to be noted in this case that the final य becomes subordinate and turns into य; whereas in (2) it remains prominent and preserves the अ of य from becoming य॒य॒, and hence the अ॒य stays on, and we have ग॒य॒.)

(2) अ॒य-अ॒य See note just above under (1)

(3) The ओ has come direct from Prakrit under the operation of the general rule in *Sa. Hira* VIII-1-159. (I shall soon consider below the nature and genesis of this operation. I may only state here that in the contraction of ओ to ओ the ओ passes through अ॒य, wherein य is prominent and hence the narrow ओ.)



कोटि छद् कोसीसां घर्णा²³ गृय गवाख मढ मतवारणां ।

(*Khandā* III, St. 245).

III—रुवण (*Apabhramśa*)

↓
कडण (O. W. R.)

(O. W. R) कुण

कवण (O. W. R)

↓
कर्ण (*Guj*)

Here also the results, कुण and कर्ण, are as in गुल (गूल) and गरि, the only difference being that, while the ऊ in गऊल is long, that in कडण is short, and yet some how it occupies a prominence which ousts the अ off.

We may also contrast—चोलावत, चंद्रावत &c. which contain वन as the final evolute of पुत्र through पुत्त, उत्त,²⁴ with गुदिलोत from गुदिलपुत्र, गुदिलउत्त, the point of contrast being that, in the latter case the अ उ unites into a narrow ओ because of the strong उ, while in the former the strength is more than counteracted by the long आ preceding it, and hence the change into व.

It may be objected Is not this fixing of the accent an arbitrary procedure? What is the guide for fixing it? Does it not amount to begging the question when you fix the accent on the अ or on the इ-उ (or य-व) according as the resulting sound is wide or narrow?

Is this accent theory arbitrary? Does it involve a begging of the question?

23. *Karmāna Mantri's Sītādharaṇa* (V. S. 1526) also has गूल and गवाख in juxta-position गूल गवखनर मालिमां रुमडा उत्तम ठाम; (*Description of Ayodhyā*).

(This double barrelled word must have been a conventional expression, it seems).

Vimala prabandha (V S 1568) has गुल with a short उ (See *Khandā* I, st 55)

24 The उत्त becomes वन by *prati samprasāraṇa* in these cases I do not believe that पुत्र-पुत्त becomes वुत्त and thus वर; for in the case of गुदिलोत the steps are पुत्त-उत्त, (not पुत्त, वुत्त, उत्त).

are no actual instances of the अय् of words like नयण &c. having changed into अइ; and when in some cases, the अय् has changed to अइ (as in जनक-सय(कं)-सइकु), the sound has either stopped short at *ai* or become ऐ in Gujarātī, and not been broadened into ऐ.

(The *Indian Antiquary* XLIV, 18-19:—January 1915)

[In this extract after the words "stopped short at *ai*" in the last sentence, I would now add—or turned into long ए, or, in the case of अव, into long ओ, e. g. ०नेर &c., पानोली etc.]

As I have already hinted, you have only to sound अइ and अउ and अय् and अत् to realize that the latter alone can give the wide sound as a result. By way of a farther indication I would cite the Gujarātī word तई, from the word तउ (from तत्.²⁵ Sanskrit) in use in the language of the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era, which became तव in later Gujarātī, and a side reflection of which is seen in the Hindi तव. This would certainly go against the *samprasāraṇa* theory and support my *anti-samprasāraṇa* theory. I cite this instance only for the purpose of illustrating the *anti-samprasāraṇa* theory, although this case would fall under the section of this *utsarga* which deals with the अर्धवित्त sound.

There are some persons who ask whether these अइ and अउ formations in Prākṛit for ऐ and औ in Sanskrit (e. g. वइर for वैर and गउरव for गौरव) are not merely artificial forms, not having any counterpart in actual speech. The answer is clear. They cannot be, and are not, artificial formations. The reasons are:—

(1st.) That artificiality is an idea which is essentially inconsistent with the evolution of language;

Arguments answering the charge that the intermediate stages अइ अउ are artificial.

(2ndly) That there is nothing to show that the Prākṛit grammars dealt with any unspoken language;

25. Dr Sir R. G. Bhindārkar derives तई from तवत् (Sanskrit) तव (Pr.)—See his *Wilson Philological Lectures*, P. 116. This may be more probable, the *Mugdhārāvaloka Aṅgika* gives तव (see P. 17, col. 1. of H. H. Dhruva's Edition तव किञ्चित् तवः किम्).

- (3rdly) That the actual falling of words like वदर, वदरामि &c. would point to the preceding अइ in them, it being impossible for ऐ-अई to jump direct into अइ-अइ
- (4thly) That the analysis of the वितृप्त sound shown above shows the necessary splitting up of the ऐ and अई into अइ and अउ respectively, whereby the accent on the अ becomes the determining factor;
- (5thly) That ऐ and अई are really more artificial than अइ and अउ, ऐ and अई as diphthongs cannot really claim to be natural simple vowels, the difference between ऐ and अई on the one hand and अइ and अउ on the other is simply of the length of interval between the components अ and इ or अ and उ, in ऐ and अई it is extremely small, so the Pāli and Prākrit speakers facilitated the pronunciation either by changing them into ए and औ or into इ and उ, or by widening the interval between the component simple vowels.
-

and so had अइ and अउ The difficulty they encountered in the case of conjunct consonants which they solved, amongst other processes by resorting to विश्लेष (separation of the members), was felt in a reduced intensity in the case of these conjunct vowels (so to call them), and was solved by a vocalic विश्लेष into अइ and अउ as one of the remedies

Mr Keshavlal H Dhruva holds that the अइ and अउ were seen in written classical Prakrit works but he doubts their existence in spoken Prakrit His only reason is that in some words in Gujarati the ऐ-औ are still preserved (e g सैजपर, बौठा,— names of villages—cited by him to which I would add लैयो (= a son), and भैयो), and the tendency amongst villagers to pronounce राइ as रै and न्हाउ as न्हौ (See his *Vag 19 upara P 8*). I am afraid this is not a very strong reason

His argument examined and controverted His argument is based on the assumption of a theory that phonetic principles cannot bear a break of continuity, he seems to argue that because ऐ-औ were pronounced as such in

Sanskrit and are also found in certain Gujarātī words at present, therefore in Prakrit also the sounds must have had the same aspect, and if अइ-अउ are seen in writing they must be merely artificial forms used in writing only otherwise the अइ-अउ would

create a break in the continuity of vocal process⁷ I may simply point out that the assumption herein involved is gratuitous, and is falsified by a number of instances where there is apparent break of continuity, e g छ

He assumes wrong
ly a theory that
phonetic principles
must have an in-
broken continuity

७७ “ऐ-औ ने प्राकृतमाधी वैयाकरणिए वातल करेला छे. शिष्ट प्राकृतमा सङ्कृत ऐ-औने ठेकाणे अइ-अउ एवी जोडगी मळो आवे छे. परतु लोकनी बोलीमा एवी पृथक्कृति थई नहिं होय, एटले के ऐ-औ ते ऐ-औ रूपे अव्यक्त बोलाता हरो एम न होय तो सँ औ सैजपर बौठा जेवा सादा चाहु नन्दोमा ऐ-औ नो उच्चार

found in Vedic Sanskrit, lost in classical Sanskrit, found again in *Prākṛit*, in Pāli. In Bhil languages in Gujarāṭi and in Marāṭhī, similarly the Sanskrit न is changed into ण in Prākṛit, and yet in Gujarāṭi there is a reversion to न in certain words (दर्शन, धर्म, हन, धान, नर्म &c.; see the *utanga* about this principle treated below).

In fact, the whole history of the growth of Gujarati through the Prakṛits will show that while some phonetic features pass through certain changes, the very ones pass unaffected into Gujarātī. And finally, it is inconceivable why the grammarians should note the change of the Sanskrit ऐ-औ into अइ-अउ in Prakṛit in specific *ślokas* if such changes did not take place in actual speech. The reasons given by me above, especially the facility involved in the विसृति process, seem to me stronger in support of the view that अइ and अउ existed in speech at one time.

There is a small indication in Prākṛit grammar which will support my view: the exclamatory word अयि (Skr.) is alternatively ऐ and अयि in Prākṛit (Si. Hc. VIII—1—169). This will conclusively show that the अयि represented actually spoken sounds and was not a mere fashionable writing for ऐ. If it had been otherwise there was absolutely no object in Hemachandra giving ऐ and अयि as alternative Prākṛit forms of अयि (Skr.) making a special note for this single exception in the whole language,—for Prākṛit has no ऐ (nor अयि). Besides, as I have already pointed out, the detached vowels are easier to pronounce than the diphthongs: this ease impelled the speakers of Prākṛit to use in actual speech अयि and अयि. This tendency is even now visible amongst press compositors and printers under Parsi influence, for I see them print गयय etc. although I have given them गयि etc. in the copy.

સંપ્રદાય વિચિત્રતા માનવીની રીતે જન્મદર્શ છે. પણ રાજને પ્રગટ થઈ, મુશ્કેલી
 નથી થાય છે તેમાં શ્રદ્ધાવાન પ્રાણને પણ જેવા જે છે. તે સોજાનીમાં મે-મોજા
 દુઃખ ઉપર જન્મદર્શની માણી પડે છે."

(P. 507, l. 10, P. 4)

It is also noted that Mr. K. H. P. was not a party to the meeting held on 11/1/1914.

I may add one more piece of evidence:—

A work called *Neminātha-jāga* written by Dhanadevagaṇi in V. S. 1502 has at its conclusion the following stanza:—

સામી કેવલ કામિની કરિ ધરી રાજીમતી નાદરી
સા સારી નિજકાજ રાજકુમરી સુગતિદ ગદ્ સાવરી ।
જે રેવદ્ગિરિરાય ઉપરિ ગમદ્ શ્રીનેમિપાયે નમદ્
તે પામદ્ હલસિદ્ધિ રિદ્ધિદિ રમદ્ શ્રી શાશ્વતી ભોગવદ્ ॥

Here metrical rules would require *ગૈ* for ગદ્, *રૈ* for રેવદ્, *ગમૈ* for ગમદ્, *નમૈ* for નમદ્, *પામૈ* for પામદ્, *રમૈ* for રમદ્ and *ભોગવૈ* for ભોગવદ્, and yet the author has stuck to the અદ્. This would show an adherence to the actual speech rather than to classical usage, especially as in l. 2 the word સુગતિદ્ is preserved with ગ and તિ in defiance of metrical rules, and it is obviously a reflexion of a spoken word. I admit the forms in this stanza contain an અદ્ derived from અતિ &c. and not the evolute of the diphthong ઐ (as in વદ્ from વૈર (Skr)). All the same, the argument is this: If અદ્ as a result of some original ex'isted in one case, then there is no reason why it should not have existed in the other case, i. e. as an evolute of ઐ.

Finally, I may point out that by tracing this વિવૃત્ત sound of

ए and ओ to अय and अव, instead of spreading it over अइ and अय and अउ and अव, the principle of वीजलाघव discussed by me in Lecture III is secured. This is no small gain; of course consistency with phonological truth

is a primary condition, and it is fulfilled here.

A few instances may now be noted where the અદ્ and અउ,

Instances wherein not turning into વિવૃત્ત ઈ and ઊ, become ઐ and ઔ in Gujarātī, or remain as અદ્ and અउ.
અદ્ and અउ do not turn into વીજે and વીજૌ.

Examples.—

ऐ or अइ.

Skr.

हृदयर्क

Pr. or Apabhr.

हिअअउ

हिअउं हइउं

Guj.

હેયું or

હइયું

धैर	(direct: not through Prākṛit)	धैर or धािर
मनरं	मन(रं)	मनरं or मनं
औ or अउ.		
चरुदण	चउरु	चौर or चउर
सर्ग	सगो	सौ
मय-मउ		

- It would be interesting to look for the cause or causes which in these cases prevent the भइ and भउ from resulting in the विट् भ and भि. We have not time enough, but you will now be able to see that the factor of accent will be found in almost all cases to be the determining cause. Where it cannot be seen working, some other cause will surely be found to exist; thus in सौ it seems an unconscious desire to distinguish this word from सौ (=a hundred) prevailed and came in the way of the विट् भ resulting.

Illustrations of apparently abnormal cases of विट् sound.

There are other apparently abnormal cases of विट् sound which may be noted here—

Śr.	Pr. or Apabh.	Guj.
विमगि.	विहमि	विहमि
मीमन्तवः	मीमन्तव-मीमन्तव	मीमि
वरिः	वरि	वरि
	(=varist, —the meaning of aged)	
मदी	मदी	मदी
मंदव.	मंदव	मंदी
		(=a stream, a stream of a rock's etc.)
मदी	मदी	मदी
		(=a stream, a stream of a rock's etc.)
विमन्तव.	वेमन्तव	वेमि
वरुदव.	वरुदो	वरु
विहं		वह

अर्—

प्रहर	पहर पहर	पहरि
नहर	नहर नहर	नहरि
महार्घकं	महर्घवं महर्घवं	मार्घुं
शते	सअं	सर्

(=a hundred)

(It is सर् in वसं, वणसं etc.;
and also सर्, वसर्, वणसर्, etc.).

सुखं	सुहं	सुर्
सुखकं	सुहवं सुहवं सुहवं	सुर्हुं
गुरुः	गुरु	गर्
गुहः	गुह	गर्ह
उपा	(direct)	अर्खा
सुचिः	सई	सर्प
	(deśya) कोइल	कर्पलो
	” ओसरिआ	अर्शरी
कोविला	कोइला	कर्पल
उदवः	उदवु	अर्धव
मृत्युः	मृत्यु	मर्त
प्रापूर्णकः	प्राहुणव	पहराणो
स्वर्घकं	सुर्घवं	सार्घुं
कुदालकः	कुदालव	कर्दालो
	(deśya) ओकिअवं	अर्कपुं (=vomited)

An examination of these cases will generally give some

The abnormal wide sound accounted for the wide sound. Thus:—विहत्थी (विहत्थी), सीअंतव, सुहं (सुहं) and सुहवं (सुहवं), after attaining these stages under the operation

of another *utsarga* viz: the shifting of the ह to the beginning syllable (except, of course, in the case of सीअंतव where there is no ह), pass through a metathesis (व्यत्यय) of the vowels composing the स्वरपुग्मस-इअ or ईअ and उअ, and the vocalic groups अइ and अउ result, which are the precedent forms of अय् and अउ giving

the wide sound. (In *गीर्भन्त-गान्त* the *causing* gets weakened, while in *गिभन्ती-गान्ती* the strong conjunct loses one member leaving *ग* only (which again loses its aspiration and yields *न*), without (as happens in many other instances) lengthening the preceding vowel.)

In *वटि-तटी*¹²-*मंदो-मरी-गुह-गुह*-there is some unusual interpolation of *इ* or *उ*, as the case may be, after the *भ* of the first syllable, and a similar interpolation of an *भ* occurs before the *व* of *वता*; which give the conditions requisite for the wide sound. On some such and no other supposition can the wide sound be explained.

A similar unusual mutation, but of a different type, occurs in the case of *गुं*, *गोण्ड*, *गोण* and *भोगिभा*, where the *ऊ* and *ओ* in the first syllables get somehow turned into *अ*, thus furnishing the requisite condition for the wide sound.

In *प्रदर* (*पदर-पदभर*), *मगर* (*मदर-मदभर*), *महापंक* (*महापङ्क-मदभरपङ्क*) the medial vocalic group *अभ* is similarly turned into *अव* and the basis for the wide *अ* is created.

Finally, in *विन्द*, *विन्द*, *दहव*, *मृग्य*, *दृग्वज*, *मपें* (*मृग्यं*), *मृग्वज* (*मृग्वज्ज*), the rules of Prākṛit whereby the first short *इ* and short *उ* become *ए* and *ओ* respectively when followed by conjuncts (S. II. VIII-1-85 and VIII-1-116) operate at first and give us the *ए* and *ओ*; these *ए* and *ओ*, it may be observed, are the short *ए* and *ओ* of Pāli and similar Prakṛite and these short *ए-ओ* although essentially and phonally different from the *विण्* sound, are in a way near to it. This may account for the wide sound in the Gujāṭīi evolutes of these words. In *भोविभं* the conjunct seems to reduce the *ओ* to the short sound noted above and then the remaining explanation applies to it, or, rather, the *ओ* in that word was from the beginning the short *ओ* of Pāli.

¹² *गी*, *गि* is a possible explanation of the change in *गी*. An *अभुन्ती* *व* *अद्विभर* occurs and turns *गी* into *व* which gives *गी-व* *मद्वन्त-मद्वन्त*, (even now *मद्वन्त* is used as a common word, as it were, to denote two *मद्वन्त* (as in any other)) Hence the case of *गी* is similarly treated as the case of *अभुन्ती* and *मद्वन्त*.

Coming to the second part (B) of the enunciation of the *utarga* about the *विवृत* अ and आ, viz: the *अर्धविवृत* sound - *अर्धविवृत* sound in the case of final अइ and अउ, the distinction which I make in calling the sound *अर्धविवृत* may be briefly explained.

The अर्धविवृत sound distinguished from the विवृत.

In the case of medial अइ-अउ, the resulting sound (अ-आ) is distinctly and fully wide because of its prominent position, i. e., the middle of the word, which position is naturally the topmost place of audibility; whereas in the case of the final अइ-अउ the resulting ए-ओ, being at the end of the verbal cadence of audibility, are naturally less wide than the medial *विवृत* sound.

Instances of the अर्धविवृत sound. Instances of this *अर्धविवृत* sound are plentiful in Gujarâtî:—

Pr. or Apabhr. (including later Apabhr.)	Guj.
छइ	छ
करइ	कर
अनइ	अन (=and)
तउ	त
करउ	कर
घोइउ	घो

In short, the final ए in the present tense 3rd personal singular form of verbs and the final ओ of the nominative singular masculine of words ending in ओ (nouns and adjectives) and that of the imperative 3rd person singular of verbs, all possess the *अर्धविवृत* sound, in addition to other words and forms.

We may now consider the notice taken, if any, of this wide अ and आ by other workers in the field of Gujarâtî phonology. So far as I can ascertain, Vrajâlâl Śâstri does not appear to have noticed this sound, much less analyzed it. This is with reference to his published works. But in a private letter to me, dated V. S. 1942 Bhâdrapada (1) Vrajâlâl Śâstri *sudi* 15th, in answer to an inquiry by me on

Gujarâtî phonologists and this wide sound.

the point, he acknowledges this sound, calls it a purely वैश्य sound (instead of वैश्यान् and वैश्यान् respectively), cites instances, says that neither Prakrit nor old Gujarati grammars treat of the cause of this sound, and recommends the inverted माग to distinguish this wide sound in Gujarati on the analogy of an old copy of *Prithur ya Rikau* which a Maravali bard showed him once. I give an extract from his letter:—

[illegible]

The brief and incidental analysis of the sound here indicated by the Śāstrī is only partially true; in that really the वेदम्भान is due to the अ of अय and अय , while it omits the equally essential cause of the य and य contributing to the wide sound. In tracing स्र through स्र the Śāstrī has come to the right track, but not perceived the whole course.

Navalarām Lakṣmīrām recognized the wide sound but did not attempt any inquiry into the why and whence

(3) Navalarām

of the 3rd sound Mr Keshavalal H Dhruva

in his valuable paper entitled *Yogyapara* (read before the First Gujarati Sahitya Parishad) has dealt with

(4) Mr K H Dhruva

this sound and advanced his theory as to the genesis of the sound I must give it here

briefly and review it

He divides the instances of this sound into two classes—(1)

स्वत सिद्ध, i. e. original, and (2) साधित, i. e.

His theory as to the genesis of the wide sound

derived come through phonetic change He holds that words that have come from foreign languages, e. g. गर and the like have a स्वत

सिद्ध wide sound while words like वर, चर्क &c. contain a साधित विवृत sound As regards the latter class he attributes the wide sound to the following causes —

- (1) Sometimes it happens in consequence of the loss of one member of a conjunct, the loss of quantity is compensated for by widening the vowel, e. g. पाट्रो-पट्रो, बहिट-बहुट, चतुष्क-चउक्क-चाक्,
- (2) Sometimes the infusion of a weak *anustara* widens the vowel sound, e. g. फंद, खव, वगण, पाँक्, चाँक्,
- (3) Sometimes a following nasal consonant helps in producing the wide vowel sound, e. g. नंण, फंम, दंन, मंम, दर्णी, रंन, etc.
- (4) Sometimes, none of these causes exist, but a wide sound is given in order to distinguish one word from another of the same shape but having a सवृत sound, and having a different meaning, e. g. फरे=with the hand फर=does, makes, गोऱ=round गोऱ=molasses, मोर=a peacock, मर= mango-flower, पोटी=a big earthen jar, वर=the wood apple tree, etc

He gives this process the name of विष्णुविधान (Vishnuvidhāna P. 8 and P. 10).

Now, let us examine these views. At the outset I may

Mr. Dhruva's theory is extremely narrow, and far from resting on philological evidence.

venture a general observation: Mr. Keshava's analysis treats this widening of the ए and ओ as if it were an erratic phenomenon attributable to varying and apparently fatal causes in a wilful manner. In short it is wanting in वैज्ञानिकता and so far unscientific. The analysis submitted by me reduces all possible cases to one common root principle, viz: the अणु and अणु-formation,—the cases including even words of foreign origin. His theory is, besides, obviously untrue to phonal evolution.

I may now deal with Mr. Keshava's views piecemeal —

As regards what he calls गण गिह विष्णु sound in words of foreign origin, e. g. गैब, the fact is that the word is not गैब, but गयब (gayb or goyb) in Arabic and Persian, the sound precedent to our Gujarātī विष्णु sound. Thus this statement about an original wide sound is incorrect in fact.

Now, take the four classes of साधित विष्णु sound as given by him:—

- (1) The cause assigned in this class of cases is incorrect. The loss of one of the members of a conjunct would compensate itself by lengthening the preceding vowel, the widening of the ए or ओ would furnish no real compensation, for एद्दी gives five मात्रा whereas एद्दी has four. Again, एद्दी may furnish a case of loss of one of the members of a conjunct. But how would you account for the wide ए in एद्दी (एद्दी)? There is no loss here for the theory about a conjunct, its simplification and resulting compensation of quantity. Nor does एद्दी fall under any of Mr. Keshava's other three groups. So also एद्दी (which is really एद्दी) has four मात्रा, and एद्दी has three, whereas एद्दी has five and एद्दी four. Thus, the compensation for loss of quantity is a direct

- (2) The wide sound here also is wrongly attributed to the weak *anustara*. In the first place, it is difficult to conceive why a weak *anustara* should be the cause of such an effect. The co-existence of the wide sound and the weak *anustara* is no doubt there; it may be difficult to find a combination of सृत्त ए-ओ and a weak *anustara*. But in the case of at least three of the five instances cited by Mr. Keshavalal, the wide sound is traceable to the cause I have pointed out. Thus वर्गण is from ³¹वङ्गण (deśya) पॉर is from पट्टर (Pr) from Skr. पृथुक (पट्टर may be deśya or Prakrit ³²). पट्टक-पट्टर-पट्टक are the further potential stages, and चॉर is from Skr. चमत् Pr. चमक, चॉर, [समर्पयति-समर्पेद्-सर्वपद्-सापे may be compared with advantage]. Thus, the अए and अउ factors are secured here also.

- (3) The cause here assigned is on the face of it untrue and fanciful. The wide sound is obviously the result of the अए or अउ factor in नण and दर्णी (from दोदनी, split up into दृदणी), मॉम (if मीण is meant by it) is from Persian मूम (in Ind. a pronounced मॉम), and रॉर (if the corruption of "round" is meant by it) has the अउ sound in its source word, 'round'. रॉर also is evolved from दहन through the steps, दृदण-दृदण-दयन, if it is the word used (mostly in Kathiawar) for the cremation of a dead body. In the sense of मकदूर, courage, daring, the word is hardly of *distal* usage at any rate; its derivation is not known to

31. Vide *Deśi nama malā*, VI, 100, where the meaning of भड is given in the verse as वङ्गण and in gloss as वङ्गणम्. At VII, 29 वङ्ग is explained as वङ्गण in the verse and as वङ्गक in the gloss.

32. See *Deśi nama malā*, VI, 44.

me; unless the guess be permitted that it may mean दहनमहि, प्रभाव (=power), and hence, daring. As for ळम (ळम, ळम, अम, may also be included), the wide sound is apparently abnormal but certainly not due to the nasal; for instance, in the list of words गृह &c. the ळ takes the विवृत अ form without the enabling cause of a nasal, and I have already denoted the possible genesis of the wide sound, which fits in better with the common principle. The tendency with villagers to sound गाम, वाम, नाम, वान &c. as गमि, वमि, नमि, वनि may at first sight be attributed to the nasal, and perhaps so far it may be accepted as a partially contributory cause. But it is the अ that is so changed not ए or ओ, and thus this is quite a distinct phonetic action limited in its scope and unconnected with the main central principle.

This is certainly erroneous. I have already shown the genesis of the wide sound in मरि, वरि, गरि. As regards वर (ver) it is clearly from वरु and the अ gives the wide sound. Besides, to imagine the object of distinguishing वरे from वरे in this way is rather highly far fetched. We may ask, वरे and वरे may be alike and calling for some distinguishing feature but how will you arrange about वीरे वरे, अरि, and the host of 3rd personal singular forms in the present tense of verbs? Again वीरि may be mixed up with वरि, but what about वरि which is the original word? There is no word with which that can be confounded.

It will thus be seen that this sort of analysis is contrived as well as unfaithful to the true phonetic history of the words concerned. It will also be noted that this analysis of Mr. Keshavlal's is worked out from a limited number of notes, several of which are also found as long's in the very large number of cases which

fall under the common principle expounded in my analysis of the wide sound. He leaves unaccounted for words of the type of वर, चहरो, बसतुं, माहं etc. And the name वितृप्तविधान, attractive as it is, has the disadvantage of seeming to denote and connote, as it were, one single uncomplex process, whereas in fact it is but a final step in a series of processes, viz अइ-अउ, अय-अव; अय-अउ; अय-अउ; and then अ-अ. The name is thus the result of an incorrect analysis of a complex process, the complexity of which is unravelled by going to a simple central principle securing वीजलायन.

So much about writers in Gujarātī on Gujarātī phonology.

As regards others, the only writers I have come

Other scholars who have noticed this wide sound; their views discussed, Sir George Grierson's view.

across as having made some mention, direct or indirect, of this wide sound, are Sir George Grierson, Mr. Beames, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar and Dr. Tceutori. Sir George Grierson has touched the subject only skin-deep, and has not

entered into the phono-genesis of the wide अ and आ. In the superficial mention even, he has lapsed into some errors which I have already pointed out elsewhere,³³ but which it would be well to indicate again in this place. He designates the वितृप्त अ as *short* and the वितृप्त आ as *broad*. He says — "Gujarātī has a short *e* as well as a long *e*." It "has no short *o*, but, on the other hand, in some words *o* is pronounced broadly, like the *u* in *all*."³⁴

It seems there is some confusion here; both *e* and *o* are either *broad* and *narrow*, or *short* and *long*. In the list³⁵ of words containing the broad sound given by him under *short e* he gives बेसवुं (*besavū*=to sit), घेन (*ghen*=drowsiness) and the like, which contain the wide अ, and under *broad o* he gives चथुं (*ch'thū*=fourth), कपिः (*Kapī*=a cuckoo), and the like which contain the wide आ. Why then, he calls the one *short* and the other *broad*. I am unable to comprehend. (Sir George's symbol for the broad sound like that in 'all' is he tells us, *a*, a circumflex over the *o*).

33. *The Indian Antiquary*, XLIV, 17n or 1 19n. (January 1916)

34. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part II, P. 323

Ibid., Pp. 844 ff.

Some errors of a minor nature have also crept in in these lists - e. g., *Ve (voh)* i. e. *वे* (=a hole) is given as having a short *o*; but it is never sounded *वि*सृप्त; so also *di* (*दी*=a drum) is given as having a *breve* *o*, when in fact the *o* is not *वि*सृप्त.

Mr. Beames touches this subject in his Vol I, pp. 157, ff.

(6) *Mr. Beames' errors exposed* But it is clear that he misses the essence of the question, and, consequently treats of the change of *अ* to *ए* and *अ* to *ओ*, and *अ* to *ओ*, and *अ* to *ऐ*, and that too in a superficial manner, falling into strange errors, as when he derives *पेरन* (the name of a particular town) from *परन* (Vol I-107), instead of from *प्रनिहान*, a well known name in Sanskrit literature and other records. This is because he imagines the *अ* of *प* is changed to *ए*, and does not see the whole evolution through the steps, *परदाण*-*परदान*-*परन* (G.) and *पेरन* (M.), and similarly when (at the same page) he derives *म. बेमन*, from Sanskrit *यमन*, "sitting"—when we know in the light of our inquiry that it is from *वपरिम्*, *वपरम्*, *वपरम्*, *बेम्*, and that *वम्* is hardly a correct Sanskrit root meaning sitting.³⁶ (His derivation of *बेमन* from *यमन* is similarly erroneous)

At pp. 157-159 Mr. Beames deals with his imaginary change of *अ* to *ए*, his instances being (*रदनी*) *रद-रदनी*; (*गदनी*) *गद-गदनी*; (*वपन*) *वप-वपनी* etc. He further thinks that in Gujarati "a preceding *h* is replaced by *e* and a second *e* is even inserted after

the *h* especially in cases where in Sanskrit an *i* stood in that place " (P 138) and his instances are —

लेहेर from लहरी	वेहेरो from बधिर
वेहेन from भगिनी	पेहल्ले from प्रथम ³⁷

[Why should पेहल्ले be written differently from the rest, and an ए not given to its ह also ? Really, it is difficult to guess the reason]

He further sees the process at work in words borrowed from Arabic and Persian e g जेहेर, वेहेर, तेहेसील, रेहम, देहशत

He goes even a step further and sees the change of अ to ए in Marāṭhī घेणे (=to take), when we know that the ए in Marāṭhī is not वितृत like that in Gujarātī

At P 140 Mr Beames says that अय some times contracts into ए Instances given are—नयन-नेन, समय-समे etc , and at pp 143-144 he speaks of अय changing into ओ as in छवग-छोग (H) &c At P 187 again he starts the rule that homogeneous vowels coalesce with the corresponding गुण or वृद्धि vowel, and cites the instance of भगिनी, भइनी (Pr) भैन (H)

All this confusion and error result from the fact that Mr. Beames did not alight upon the true analysis I have presented in this discussion The consequence is that his treatment of this subject ignores the वितृत sound, and he divides his instances under several disjointed heads (See Vol I Pp 187, 167, 143-4, 140, 187-189) owing no allegiance to a common central principle which really exists but is not perceived by him

Only in one case has Mr Beames accidentally noticed the widish sound It is in the old Hindi sound of the *o* ending of words, which, he admits, sounds like au But he minimizes the value of this recognition by at once stating that there is no distinction between the Old Hindi *o* (which he distinctly says is broad) and the *o* sound of the ordinary Hindi.

37 I can very well realize Mr Beames' difficulties handicapped and misled as he was by the erroneous and unsettled system of spelling in vogue in Gujarātī during his days, and in older Gujarātī manuscripts

He says it is merely a matter of manuscript, for using the one or the other form (See I : Vol II P 5). How this could be a matter of manuscript is difficult to understand. The fact is that the old sound औ was wideish, the precursor of the fully wide sound of Gujarati while the narrow o remained in the ending of nouns actually taking that ending instead of औ. The state of things is this. In Hindi medial औ remained an औ and was wideish but less wide than the Gujarati वृत्त औ while the final औ (except perhaps in the Braj dialect of it) dwindled into a pure ओ and became less wide than the अपवृत्त of Gujarati or perhaps entirely narrow.

Dr. Bhandarkar deals with this question with his usual ability and learning at two or three places in his *Wilson-Phonological Lectures*. At Pp 142-143 he discusses the restoration to some of the present day vernaculars of the Sanskrit diphthongs ऐ and औ which the Prakrits and Pali had lost. This is by turning the अ and अय back into ऐ and औ in Hindi, Panjabi and in some cases in Marathi. He cites, amongst several instances —

Skr	Pr	
प्रतिष्ठ	प्रतुष्ठ	H O d M देस
वसतिम्	वसतम्	M H देस-ना
वसतिष्ठ	वसतुष्ठ	H I देस
गतिर	गतुर	M H I गैर
वर्तमानं	वदम्	M H P वै-
वसुधै	वसुध	M H P वैध
वसुध	वसुध	M H I वैध

At Pp 143-144 he treats the change of अय and अर to ऐ and औ and cites instances like

Skr	Pr	H or H & P
मयम्	मभय मयम्	मैय
रजनी	रभनी रदनी	रैय
वदय		वैय-वैय (1)
वचन	वभय वदम्	वैय

Finally at Pp. 146-147 he discusses the sound in Gujarātī and compares it with the sound in Hindi:—

H.	G.	H.	G.	H.	G.
पैठा	पेठो	बैठो	बेठो	बैल	बेल
बैसना	बैसहुं	रौर	रोर		
चौधा	चोधो	चौरु	चोरु	धौला	धोळो
कौडी	कोडी etc.				

He also observes that Gujarātī has ए and ओ even in words of foreign origin where the other languages have ऐ and औ and cites

H.	G.	H.	G.
पैदा	पेदा	मैदान	मेदान
दौलत	दोल्त	फौज	फोज

Finally, I quote the following remarks of his in full:—

"Similarly, though a few Sanskrit words containing ऐ and औ do occur in Gujarātī dictionaries, these diphthongs are generally pronounced like ए and ओ, as in जैन for जैन "a follower of the Jain sect," वैर for वै "enmity" &c. The Gujarātī, therefore, like the Old Prākṛit combines अय and अव and अइ and अउ into ए and ओ, and since it did not receive the diphthongs ऐ and औ from the old Prākṛits, its alphabet really does not contain them. As observed before, the syllables अइ and अउ differ from ऐ and औ only in two currents of breath being emitted instead of one, in other respects they are alike, both the vowel sounds being contained in the diphthongs. Those syllables as well as अय and अउ should, therefore, naturally pass into these diphthongs as involving the least possible change. If, notwithstanding, the Gujarātī people make ए or ओ out of them and also give those forms to the ऐ and औ of Sanskrit and foreign words, it must be so, because their vocal organs are in this respect in the same condition as those of their Pālī and Prākṛit ancestors. On the other hand, the Hindi, and especially the Braj form of it, present the old tendency of pronouncing the diphthongs in a somewhat exaggerated form, while the other dialects take up a position between these two in this respect." (Pp. 146-147).

Now, if you have followed me in my lengthy analysis of this whole question, you will at once see where I differ from my respected master. The points of difference may be brought out by a clear enunciation as under —

(First) Dr. Bhindarkar has not noticed clearly the wide nature of the Gujarati *अ* and *आ* in these cases; he simply calls them *अ* and *आ*.

(2ndly) He speaks as if Gujarati turned the Sanskrit *ऐ* and *औ* direct into *ए* and *ओ* as also the foreign sounds *ऐ* and *औ* (as he represents them); but the fact is that these sounds come through the *अइ-अउ*, *अए-अउ* and *अए-अउ* stages before they reach the Gujarati sound,²² as regards the foreign words the sounds therein are *ए*, *ऐ* and *औ* but *अए* and *अउ*.

(3rdly) What he calls, in the case of the Hindi (and especially the Braja) mode of pronunciation, an *exaggerated* form, really contains the element of *सिद्ध* sound which is manifested fully in Gujarati, he has, in a way, correctly noticed that the Marathi²³ sound (*पुन-पुन*) takes up a position midway between what he calls the exaggerated Hindi sound and the Gujarati sound (I say in a way²⁴ because I suspect the *ए* and *औ* in Gujarati are believed by him to be the narrow sounds which they really are not). But, not fully and clearly recognizing the *सिद्ध* sound of Gujarati, he has stopped short and not noticed what I have pointed out in this discussion that the

Marāṭhī sound leans emphatically on the इ and उ (in the vocalic groups अइ-अउ), the Hindi on the अ, while the Gujarātī sound widens the resulting ए and ओ.⁴⁰

With due deference, therefore, I submit that it is not a correct diagnosis to say that the Gujarātī peoples' vocal organs are in the same condition as those of their Pālī and Prākṛit ancestors in this respect. For the nature of the ए and ओ into which the people speaking Pālī and Prākṛit turned the Sanskrit ए and ओ was essentially different from the विवृत अ and अर्⁴¹ sound

40. It is interesting to compare the state of the component vowels of ऐ and औ and that of the components of ए and ओ, into which stage the former (i.e. ऐ and औ) eventually pass in their passage from Sanskrit into Gujarātī. Although ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are संधित्व (as distinguished from the समान or simple स्वर, अ to इ) the four संधित्व can be further distinguished amongst themselves. I would call ए and ओ by the name of संकीर्ण संधित्व and ऐ and औ by the name of समष्टि संधित्व. For the अ and इ and अ and उ, respectively in ए and ओ are in a state of संकर (fusion), while in ऐ and औ they are in a state of समष्टि (mere mixture). The course through which the change of ऐ and औ of Sanskrit words runs in attaining the Gujarātī विवृत अ and अर् forms is as under —

- (1) First, समष्टि as in ऐ and औ (देर-गौरी),
- (2) Then, विवृत as in अइ and अउ (वर-गड(ी)),
- (3) Then, प्रतिसमकारण as in अय and अव (वय-गवरी),
- (4) then, संकर as in अर् and अर् (वर-गर्व).

(I shall explain in a subsequent discussion in the text of this Lecture how the 4th stage can be arrived at although there are ए and उ and not इ and उ in the 3rd stage.)

41. The wide sound (resembling the विवृत अर्) which Bangālī, in its spoken form, gives to a non-final अ is to be distinguished from this Pālī and Prākṛit short o. This Bangālī o resembles the विवृत अर् more than the short o of Pālī and Prākṛit, and yet it is not the विवृत अर् of Gujarātī, which is full in its length, while the Bangālī sound is shorter. Briefly, the Bangālī sound resembles the Pālī sound in shortness but differs from it on account of its wide nature, while it (the Bangālī sound) resembles the Gujarātī sound in its wide nature but

of Gujarāṭī. Dr. Bhindārkar has felt this sound in Gujarāṭī, but not only has he not proceeded to analyze it and go behind it to discover what I have shown in the foregoing discussion, but his feeling of the sound has been, to some extent, misdirected, and, at any rate, it has not found full expression. I am quite sure that if he had pursued the inquiry further, or, rather, if the real Gujarāṭī sound had come within his constant experience, and then if he had given a fuller expression to his feeling of that sound,

it differs from it on account of its shortness. It combines the attributes of the Pāli sound and the wide nature of the Gujarāṭī sound, and thus differs from both.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhindārkar has incidentally noticed this Banglī sound at Pp. 149-150 of his *Wilson Philological Lectures* and Mr. Beames also has some remarks on it in his Vol. I, P. 67.

(Banglī has a similarly short but wide *ṛ* as in *रुद्र*, *रुद्र*. The remarks about the Banglī short but wide *ṛ* apply *mutatis mutandis* to this *ṛ* sound).

Kanarese possesses a short *ṛ* and a short *ṛi* as distinguished from long *ṛ* and long *ṛi*. These short *ṛ* and *ṛi* resemble the similar Banglī sound to a very great extent, i. e. with shortness they combine some thing of the wide nature also, though grammarians roughly liken the *ṛ* to the *e* in 'met,' they rightly liken the short *ṛi* to the *ai* in 'et.' The following instances may be noted briefly —

Short		Long	
ಉಂ	(<i>ṛuṅ</i>) =work	ಉಂಠಿ	(<i>ṛiṅ</i>) =Upon
ಉಂ	(<i>ṛuṅ</i>) =some	ಉಂಠಿ	(<i>ṛiṅ</i>) =separate
ಉಂ	(<i>ṛuṅ</i>) =name	ಉಂಠಿ	(<i>ṛiṅ</i>) =to go
ಉಂ	(<i>ṛuṅ</i>) =to give	ಉಂಠಿ	(<i>ṛiṅ</i>) =to see
ಉಂ	(<i>ṛuṅ</i>) =beginning		

i. e. without a short preceding vowel they could not pronounce a double consonant. The result was:—

(1) The ए and ओ preceding a conjunct were shortened.

(2) The इ and उ, preceding a conjunct were changed to ए and ओ the tongue being unable to rise close enough to the palate or the lower lip so as to form इ and उ, thus creating ए and ओ sounds. Hence we had ओङ्ग for उङ्ग, ओङ्ग for पुङ्ग, ओङ्ग for निङ्ग, etc.;

(d) That sometimes, even where no conjunct followed, especially before ए, the ए was shortened, and to adjust the resulting loss of quantity, the single consonant was doubled; e. g. मेप्प for मेः, पेप्प for पेः etc.

These phenomena, pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar are reflected in principle in Hemachandra's *Yatras*.

<i>The reflection of this ए and ओ in Hemachandra's grammar.</i>	(a) ह्रस्वः संयोगे दीर्घस्य.	VIII-i-84
	(b) य दीर्घाङ्गमाणा.	VIII-i-92
	(c) { इत एत ओम्संयोगे	VIII-i-85 VIII-i-116
	(d) { मेत्तारो मेत्तारो वा	VIII-ii-75 VIII-ii-99

I say "in principle," for, under VIII-i 84 the ए and ओ are shortened to इ and उ, and not shortened as they are in Pāli, as in *संयोगे, गोपरा* &c. But, it is almost certain that even in the Pāli *Yatras* the ए and ओ in words like *मेप्प, पेप्प, मेत्तार, गोप्प, गोप्प, मेप्प, पेप्प*, etc. were pronounced short as in Pāli, especially in the case of single consonants doubled (as in *मेप्प, मेत्तार* &c.) the very fact of doubling the consonant indicates the fact of a gap in the shape of loss of quantity, itself in its turn indicating the shortening of the ए and ओ. Similarly the change of इ and उ to ए and ओ in VIII-i-85, and 116 point in the same direction for reasons given by Dr. Bhandarkar, noted above.

Mr. Beames has also noticed this short sound (see his Vol. I, Pp. 111-112). He correctly describes it when he likens it to the sound of *e* in *set, fed*. But when he remarks "The harshness of pronunciation of the persons who reduced Pāli to writing is shown by

their omitting to provide a separate character for this sound, as the Drāvidians have done," he evidently forgets that in the Drāvidian languages this sound is more extensively prevalent than in the Prākṛits and also that, while the Drāvidian sound is widish, the Pāli and Prākṛit short sound is not so. This, by the way. Mr. Beames deals with the short ए only and is quite silent about the short ओ, so far as I can see. He does notice the Bangālī sound ॐ for the अ (Pp. 68-69), but that is quite a different matter, and even there he does not notice the widish note in the utterance. However, at P. 67 he does notice the widish Bangālī sound of अ as a 'short' o, likens it to the sound of o in 'not,' and instances अनल pronounced as *onol*.

In an article, headed "Mr. Rabindranāth Tagore's Notes on Bengālī Grammar," in the J. R. A. S., 1913 A.D., pp. 583 ff, Mr. J. D. Anderson deals with this sound of अ in Bangālī. Referring to Mr. Beames' view that अनल is sounded as *ōnol*, कथन as *l̥thōn*, and that in some words the sound is softer and longer than the o of *not*, e. g. in वन the o is sounded almost like the o in *bone*, and then stating Mr. Rabindranāth Tagore's definite rule for this softer sound, Mr. Anderson states his own views thus:—

"To my ear," says he, "the sound of the o in "hot" is not merely the abbreviation of the o in "rove." I think we get the short sound of ॐ in "imposition" and the long ॐ in *impōse*." I think the o in "hot" is the abbreviation of the *aw* in "brandy-pawnee." *Bōn*, *m̃n*, and *khōn* (बन, मन, खन) should really have the short o of "imposition" and not the long ॐ of "*impōse*." The vowels in *tōñoy* (तनय) and *bōn* (वन) are both short, but they represent, I think, different sounds."

He adds a footnote as under:—

"At all events in what follows I write ॐ to represent the vowel in "hot," o for the o in "imposition" and ॐ for the o in "rove."

It is outside the purpose of our inquiry to go into these details and I leave them with a bare mention of the different views.

Mr. Beames notices (P. 142 n.) the colloquial usage in Bangālī which gives वित्त sound to the ए in words like दिलेम् (for दिलाम्) &c.

and likened it to the sound of *a* in English words like *mat*, *rat* &c. But I doubt if he has noticed the short but wishy sound of *ए* in Bangālī words like ऐवन, ऐवगर—I think it is shorter than the *ए* in रिष्टम्—ऐवन ऐवगर भाव बरिया देगिया न्दु! पीरे, रजनी, पीरे!" ("Rajni" by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyāy, Khanda IV, Chapter 5).

[However, I find from a reference to Mr. Beames' views in the article by Mr. J. A. Anderson referred to just above that Mr. Beames has elsewhere noticed the short *e*. The article referred to states—

"Mr. Beames writes that—'e' is properly the long *a* in English 'lane,' 'male,' or the *ey* in 'they'—In a few words of very frequent occurrence it has a short harsh sound like the *a* in English 'back,' thus *el*, *dell* (ऐल, ऐल), sound something like *ac*, *dac*."]

Mr. Beames has given a correct view of the result of the short *ए* in words like ऐम् &c. viz. the preservation of quantity. He says—

"As Prākṛit is always very careful to preserve the quantity of Sanskrit words, it is apparent that the common people who spoke Prākṛit, having come to regard *e* as a short sound felt it necessary to double the following consonant in order to preserve the quantity, the vowel which in Sanskrit was long by nature becoming thus long by position." (Vol. I, P. 141).

As to why these people came to regard the *ए* as a short sound, we must go to Dr. Phāndarka's account of the tendency of the original speakers of Pālī to stick to their old *sa* has short sound, which we have already noticed above. This tendency infected the speakers of other Prākṛits also though to a limited extent.

Lastly, I come to the new taken of the wide sound of *e* and *o* (ई-औ) in Guzarātī by as a far of exception. I mean Dr. L. P. Toss's of 1880, Italy who is at present carrying on his researches into the Marāṭhī and Guzarātī languages by studying the questions on the spot.

as he is staying in Bikānēr and conducting a survey of Bārdic Literature there. His notice of this sound seems to have passed through two stages, (1) the stage of vague perception, and (2) the stage of clear illumination. During the first stage he observed in his Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī:—

“In Modern Gujarātī *aī* is contracted to *ē* and *aū* to *ō* and in Modern Mār-wāḍī *aī* to *ai* and *aū* to *au*.” (Ind. Antiq. XLIII, 13, February 1914).

[It may be noted once for all that—

aī-aū represent अइ-अउ

ē-ō represent ऐ-औ (both narrow)

ai-au represent ऐ-औ

and *ê-ô* represent ई-औ (both wide)

These symbols should be borne in mind all along].

Dr. Tessitori arrived at this view when he was in Italy, had never been in India, and had not heard the sounds pronounced. With the frankness and honesty of purpose and attitude that characterize Dr. Tessitori's scholarly investigations, he has made a clear avowal of his mistake at a later stage, when, after arriving in India and observing facts on the spot he saw the truer aspect; he says:—

“Before proceeding, I must correct a mistake into which I have incurred in my ‘Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rājasthānī, with special reference to Apabhraṃśa and to Gujarātī and Mār-wāḍī.’ I am hardly responsible for it, as when I wrote the “Notes,” I had never been in India and for all information concerning pronunciation in Gujarātī and Mār-wāḍī, had completely to rely on the accounts given by others, which I afterwards found to be incorrect. In the first Chapter of the aforesaid “Notes,” I had stated that the *aī* and *aū* of Old Western Rājasthānī become *ē*, *ō* in Modern Gujarātī and *ai*, *au* in Modern Mār-wāḍī. This is inaccurate. In both Modern Gujarātī and Mār-wāḍī, the *aī*, *aū* of Old Western Rājasthānī become *ê* and *ô*.”

(Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputānā, Appendix—J. A. S. Beng. N. S. XII, P. 74.)

This marks the second stage, the stage of clear Illumination, in Dr. Tessitori's view of this question. He fully agrees with me here as to the *fiṣṭh* nature of the sound, at least in its main features, for in his minute appreciation and perception of it he differs, though only slightly, from me. He says:—

"What I mean by *ḍ* and *ḍ* is a wide sound of the *e* and *o* vowels approximately, not exactly, corresponding to the wide sound of *a* in the English word "hat," and *o* in "odd." The difference is mainly in the quantity, the Mārvarī vowels *ḍ* and *ḍ* being more prolonged in pronunciation than the corresponding vowels in the two English words quoted above."

(Ibid. P. 74)

The only difference between him and me is that I regard the wide sound in Gujarātī and Mārvarī as qualitatively the same as in English 'hat' and 'odd,' and in quantity also almost the same. This, however, is a very minor difference. The difference between the learned doctor and myself that still exists on a comparatively important point is as regards the genesis of this wide sound. I shall set forth his views as briefly as possible, but in proper fulness to do him justice. His views (as set forth in the Appendix to his article referred to above) are as under:—

- (1) The narrow sound of *ṣ* and *ṣ* seems to be as old as Apathramsa, while the wide sound has originated only in the interval between the Old *LMH* and Modern periods. Thus the *fiṣṭh* sound was unknown to Old *LMH* Western Rājasthān, all *ṣ* and *ṣ* vowels being narrow.
- (II) The passing of *ṣ-ṣ* into the wide *ṣ-ṣ* was effected simply through a process of contraction, i. e. through a suppression of the diates, and the intermediate step was that of *ṣ-ṣ* (the *d* phoneme).

Dr. Tessitori and I are at one as regards (I) for at P. 75 middle of para I he divides the stages which show that by Old *LMH* he means O. W. Rājasthān, but as regards (II) you will see we differ materially, my view being that *ṣ-ṣ* became *ṣ-ṣ*—

अव (by प्रतिसमासरण), then अय्-अर् and then, ई औ. Dr. Tessitori differs from this view and his reasons are —

- (a) (1) There are no sure instances of any अइ-अउ of the O. W Rāj having changed to अय्-अर् in any stage of the language
- (2) He regards वयर, वयरागी and पयसार quoted by me from Dr Tessitori's researches as 'pretended' changes. He says with reference to them that they constitute no proof, for Old Western Rājasthānī manuscripts often write य for इ, also that the अय in वयर, वयरागी (which words he calls *tatsamas* (1 e) *Prakṛita-samas* in Old Western Rājasthānī) may be a corruption of Sanskrit ऐ instead of a modification of Old Western Rājasthānī अइ.
- (b) अउ is changed undoubtedly to अउ in Old Western Rājasthānī (e g Ap षवई, Old Western Rājasthānī षउई Ap षवण Old Western Rājasthānī षउण, Ap गउल, Old Western Rājasthānī गउल, Ap षउल, Old Western Rājasthānī षउल) This being so, it is not admissible that, having reduced every अउ of Apabhraṃśa to अउ from its early stage, Old Western Rājasthānī should bring back the अउ to अउ again, in its later stage
- (c) The diphthongal forms ऐ-औ (derived from अइ-अउ) are found in all the earliest manuscripts of both Gujarātī and Maravādī, when ऐ-औ began to be substituted for अइ-अउ, they (ऐ-औ) were originally pronounced as diphthongs and only afterwards reduced to long wide vowels (विवृत).

If अइ-अउ had passed into अय्-अर् in the earliest Gujarātī Maravādī stage, Dr Tessitori says we do not understand why manuscripts, which otherwise show a tendency to write य-व for इ-उ, should only in this case make an exception and write ऐ-औ instead of अय्-अर्

- (d) अय, as also अदि change into अइ; e. g. मयवट (Ap.), मयवट (Már.); पदित (O. W. R.).—पदित (Már.). So also अद् changes into अइ; as in मर-मर-पद्-पद्-पद् (Már.).

Dr. Tessitori contends that the fact that in manuscripts there are no instances of अइ written for अय does not weaken his argument, as it can be accounted for by the remark that all words with अय in them are *late ones* and therefore they continued to be written according to traditional spelling.

The above summary will show that while I trace the वित् sound thus:—

The point where he differs from the lecturer.

अइ-अय } :—अइ-अय; अइ-अय; अ-अइ, अय-अय

Dr. Tessitori traces it as under:—

अइ-अय } :—अइ-अय; अ-अइ-अ-अ

In other words,

- (1) I claim *prati-sampratiana* for अइ-अय while Dr. Tessitori claims *sampratiana* for अय-अय.
- (2) I put the wide sound as the result of accent and the वज्ज nature of अ helped by the ए and ए factors, while Dr. Tessitori's अ-अइ (formed from अइ-अय) suddenly and unaccountably jump into the वित् sound.

I may now lay before you my remarks on Dr. Tessitori's views and arguments. I shall refer to the reasons as marked by me above.

Remarks on Dr. Tessitori's views

(a)—(1). In the first place I take my stand on the broad basis of the general principle that unaccented medial ए and ए are respectively changed to ए and ए during their transit into Gujarati. This will include cases of such ए and ए, whether they are preceded by अ or by any other vowel. The same should not be confined to अइ and अय simply. If instances can be shown to prove the operation of *prati-sampratiana* over a wider field, that

very fact should strengthen the case of अइ and अउ passing into अय and अउ. I have already given such instances in dealing with the *utsarga* about *prati-samprasāraṇa*.

(a) — (2). I am afraid the instances where the Old Western Rājasthānī Mss. write य and इ must be limited in number. Dr. Tessitori refers to this peculiarity noticed by him in a particular Ms. (F. 722) and infers therefrom that it is a mere writing peculiarity (See His "Notes" § 4-15).

The instances there given contain the words कयम, त्यम and the like. In view of the fact that कयम, त्यम and the like are at present actually pronounced as the spelling stands here (alternatively with केम, तेम &c.), the natural inference would be in favour of the य representing an actual phonetic change rather than the vagary of writing. On the contrary, there are, in a number of Mss. of Old Western Rājasthānī and early Gujarātī works, numerous instances of इ being written invariably, and य being written rarely and that too when य was intended to be sounded, and not इ; so also in the case of उ and व. Thus in Bhāṭana's "*Kādambarī*" (V. S. 1550 or thereabouts) जाइ is written in a number of places, while जाय in some cases where it is intended to rhyme with words like उपाय, this indicating at once that य was the sound intended.⁴³

43 I have given numerous instances of this in my article on "*The Wide Sound of E and O*" (*The Indian Antiquary*, XLVI, 300-301, December 1917) — I may only name the works in which the इ and उ occur as stated —

- (1) *Kādambarī*, by Bhāṭana (V. S. 1550 or thereabouts), year of copy, V. S. 1672)
- (2) *Gautama Rdāo*, (V. S. 1412),
- (3) *Middhatānala Kathā* (V. S. 1574, copied in V. S. 1693),
- (4) *Uśāharana* by Janīrdana (V. S. 1548).
- (5) *Vimala-prabandha* (V. S. 1568).
- (6) *Vaidā-pancharisi* (V. S. 1629).
- (7) Specimens from O. W. Rāj. texts (Appendix to Dr. Tessitori's "Notes" Pp 100-106)

This will show that the इ and ए and उ and ँ were not interchangeable script-symbols like ष and ष, or ञ and ञ, but each represented the sound intended by itself. And when, in the midst of such systematic use of इ and उ we find वृत्, वृत्तगी and the like, or वृत्त, वृत्त, side by side with वृत्त, the proper inference is that the *anaprasava* process had already commenced in the case of such words, and occasional variations were due to the process being yet in a stage of beginning and not quite settled down; for phonetic changes in a language cannot proceed on regular lines of uniform march, some forms will linger, some progress, some go backwards and forwards, till a final settled state is reached.

Then, वृत् and वृत्तगी cannot possibly be regarded as (Prākṛit) *evolutes*, in as much as such evolutes (अव-भव) of ऐ and औ are unknown to Prākṛit literature or Grammar, they came into use at a very late stage even in O. W. Rajasthani. We should rather say that वृत्-वृत्तगी are *evolutes* and वृत्-वृत्तगी are *evolutes*. For the reason just given, it is not correct to say that अव (and अव) may in these cases be a corruption of Skr. ऐ (and औ), H. machandra notes the change of ऐ to ए, इ, and अव (as also that of औ to ओ, उ, and अव), but nowhere does he speak of अव (and अव) as evolutes of ऐ (and औ), nor are they found in Prākṛit works. Nor should we be justified in going behind H. machandra and reading into his *evolutes* any such phonetic tendency.

Skr.	Pr. or Ap.	G.
नापि	णवि	नव
स्तनः	धणो-धणु	थान
स्थानं	थाणं-थाणु	थान (=the place of a horse in a stable).
वनचरकं	वणयरउं	वनेरुं
तनय	तणओ-तणउ	तन
मन	मणं मणु	मन
भगिनी	बहिणी	बईन
यौवनं	जोव्वण-जोव्वणु	जोवन
ग्रहणं	ग्रहणु (further ग्रयणु).	घन.

Furthermore the very process of *anti-samprasāraṇa* takes place under reversion in words like the following:—

(2)

कः पुनः	कोउण-कउण	कउण (O. W. R.)
	कवण	कवण (O. W. R.)
(देश+अपर)	देसावर देसाउर	देशावर (G.)
	(O. W. R.)	
देवइळ	देवुळ-देउळ	देबळ
देवर	देउर	देवर (H.)

No doubt, cases of reversion, even if many, will mark an exceptional process. But it establishes a principle which may operate justifiably.

(c) *The presence of ऐ-औ in earliest Māravādī and Gujarātī Manuscripts*—

On this point I must at the outset observe that so far as Gujarātī Mss. are concerned, later or early, ऐ-औ are not seen in use, so far as I know. I suspect Dr. Tessitori's impression is mistaken. As regards Māravādī Mss. I have no doubt that the ऐ-औ that have appeared after the अइ-अउ of the O. W. R. *Rajsthānī* are not the narrow diphthongs known to Sanskrit, but the wide *e* and *o* sounds represented in writing by means of the

symbols $\tilde{\text{e}}$ $\tilde{\text{ai}}$ as a mere make-shift, an imperfect and misleading make shift. In fact it was this very feature that misled Dr. Tessitori when, from his distant place in Italy, he regarded the Māravāḍi symbols for what they usually stand in Sanskrit and concluded that the Māravāḍi changed अय-अय to $\tilde{\text{e-ai}}$. (See *supra* l'p. 174). My view that the $\tilde{\text{e-ai}}$ in Māravāḍi Mss. represent the wide e and ai receives an incidental support from the fact that, even at present, Hindi uses these symbols ($\tilde{\text{e}}$ $\tilde{\text{ai}}$) to indicate their peculiar sound which certainly is not the narrow Sanskrit sound, nor the very wide Gujarātī sound.

Next, if $\tilde{\text{e-ai}}$ were really purely diphthongal in their sound (i. e. narrow) in their early Māravāḍi stage, it is inconceivable what possibly could have turned them later on into the wide sound almost at a bound. The diphthongal $\tilde{\text{e-ai}}$ have no affinity with the wide sound. In order to reach it they must pass back into अय-अय , for even for passing into the narrow $\tilde{\text{e-ai}}$ they first get split into अय-अय ,⁴² a double reversion which is not supported by probabilities.⁴³

The principle of *approximation* and through it the formation

of ए-ओ in Prâkrit is visible if we look behind some of the *sûtras* of Hêmachandra's. Thus:—

- (1) The त्रय becomes ते in त्रयोदश-तेरह, त्रयोविंशति-तेवीसा; त्रयविंशद्-तेतीसा and so forth. (*Si. Hc. VIII-i-165*)
(Here the अयो becomes अय, then अइ, and then ए).
- (2) अयस्कार becomes एकार (*Si. Hc. VIII-i-166*). (The steps are अयकार-अइकार-एकार).
- (3) कडल becomes केड or कयड (*Si. Hc. VIII-i-167*).
(The steps are कयड-कइड-केड).¹⁶
- (4) कर्णिकार becomes कण्णेर (also कण्णिआर) under *Si. Hc. VIII-i-168*.
(The steps are -कण्णियार-कण्णयार-कण्णयर-कण्णइर-कण्णेर).
- (5) नवमालिका, नवफालिका change their नव to नो. (*Si. Hc. VIII-i-170*).
(Steps अव-अउ-ओ).
- (6) अव and अप (*upasargas*) become ओ (optionally).
(*Si. Hc. VIII-i-172*).

the wide sound (अ-आ) as unacceptable. In the first place they are incorrect as symbols of the wide sound, signs as they have hitherto been regarded as of the narrow diphthong, and secondly, they will cause confusion by being made to represent the wide अ-आ as well as the narrow diphthongs ऐ-औ (as in देव-गौण etc.), just as at present the ॲ and ॳ symbols cause confusion by being used indifferently for the narrow as well as the wide ॲ and ॳ (वेरु=to scatter and वेर (really वर)=enmity, गेर (round), and गरि (=molasses), being shown by the same kind of *mâtrâ* sign)

46. *Pischel* derives this word through different steps thus — कडल-कडिल-करल-केल. The reasons which induce me to prefer the steps given by me are —

(1) कडिल for कडल is not quite a known change, the principle underlying the *sûtra*, स्वराणां स्वरा. प्रयोऽपभ्रंशे, or better still, that underlying *Si-Hc VIII-i-46* may support the case for कडिल, but we need not go so far when the obvious and natural steps are available

(2) *Sampasdrana* is latent in *sûtras* like *Si-Hc VIII-i-171, 172* and *VIII-iii-149*, under which छवण becomes छेण, अव and अप become ओ and the अय to the causal becomes ए (मारयति-मारेर).

(3.) कयड is actually an optional form given by Hêmachandra himself. It would be a natural and easier step from कयड to करल

- (7) एय becomes ऐय (optionally). (*St. H. VIII-i-171*).
 (8) The अय of the Sanskrit causal becomes ए in Prakrit under *St. H. VIII-iii-142*. जारयति-जारेइ, मारयति-मारेइ etc.

This genesis of ए-औ as coming from अय-अय receives support from the fact that अय-अय are really the intermediate steps in changes like ऐर from मयति; पोर from पूर (the ऊम being changed to अम by metathesis), मोइ, योग्ण, &c. from मय्ण, (मय्ण), ययुर्ण (ययय्ण), etc. All this indicates that अय-अय, whether independent of अय-अय or evolved therefrom, unite into the ए-औ ए-औ. The wide औ-औ must come from अय-अय alone. For it cannot be seriously contemplated that the narrow ए-औ formed from अय-अय turned all at once into the wide औ-औ, or that अ+इ or अ+उ could generate both the sounds, narrow as well as wide.

(d) *The change of अय into अइ is अ and इ is f (अय) and अइ into औ.*

This does not require much discussion. For Dr. Tassinari virtually agrees with me as regards the first step through which अइ passes, viz the throwing back of इ giving अइ as a result. I presume he holds the same view in the case of अइ. As regards अय and अय I have made enough observations in the above discussion viz the objections to अय-अय changing into अय-अय, and the process whereby अय-अय अय-अय generate the wide sound in औ-औ.

I may meet a possible objection to the theory of अय-अय (अय-अय) generating the wide sound, औ-औ. It may be asked - "औ-औ comprise अ+इ and अ+उ; अय-अय do not contain इ-उ by the very fact that they (इ-उ) have undergone *pratyahar* and therefore they cannot go back to their original sound, how then could अय-अय yield औ-औ?" My answer would be - The wide औ-औ are really wide sounds, unknown before the early Gujarati and Marathi evolution, in a way they are foreign sounds, as I shall show soon later. They then comprise (a) the foreign element and (b) the nature of ए and औ. Of these (a) is a pre-dominant feature and (b) a suppressed feature and the latter

(b), is contributed simply by the इ-उ remaining, as it were in the form of a latent influence in ए and व्. This does not amount to an admission that the अइ-अउ stage really intervenes between अय-अव and ऐ-औ. The latent influence remains only for the limited purpose of giving the ए-औ sounds, or rather the sounds that form the element common to the narrow and the wide sounds, while the final formation ए-व् continues to be the dominant factor. This may be likened in a way, to the principle underlying Pāṇini's *sūtra* स्यानिवदादेशः (I-i-56), with the portion अनङ्विषो excluded. I use this as a mere indication of analogy of operation, for there is a distinction between the two principles. All that is intended is that we have to look at the actual stages through which the sound formations pass, and account for the *apparent* anomaly by the fact that in passing into the final formation the ए and व् carry with them the inherent condition of इ and उ, this condition operating only as a latent formative cause.

But a bolder, and perhaps truer, answer would be that the ऐ-औ sounds are really a new sound having hardly any connection with the इ and उ sounds, which they have left far behind after the intermediate steps, अय-अव, and अय्-अव् come in and do their work.

This would dispose of the objection at once, as it removes the very foundation on which the objection is based.

[Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar's view as to the relative position of ए-व् and इ-उ in these cases may be noted here with advantage. At P. 44 of his Lectures he rightly points out that अइ-अउ differ from ऐ-औ in that the अ is rapidly pronounced in the diphthongs and not so in the dissyllables (अइ-अउ). He goes on to say that when अ is followed by ए-व् (in अय-अव) as it is followed by इ-उ (in ऐ-औ), and अय-अव are hastily pronounced the distinction (between इ-उ and ए-व्) disappears and अय-अव become ऐ-औ, which finally become ए-औ in Pāli. This view contains the germs of the theory advanced by me as to the ए-व् carrying within them the nature of इ-उ. My further step in the matter of the wide ऐ-औ takes into account the prominence, in Gujarātī and Mārvāḍī,

of the *મ* in *મર-મર* and the subsidiary help given by *વ-વ* in producing the *વિવ* sound.

To put the whole matter in a nutshell once more, the difference between Dr Tessitori's analysis and mine is this —

That while Dr Tessitori traces the wide sound thus —

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{મર} \\ \text{મર} \end{array} \right\} - \text{મર-વે-મર} \qquad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{મર} \\ \text{મર} \end{array} \right\} - \text{મર-મી-મર}$$

I trace it thus —

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{મર} \\ \text{મર} \end{array} \right\} - \text{મર મર મી} \qquad \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{મર} \\ \text{મર} \end{array} \right\} - \text{મર-મર-મી}$$

So relying on *વ-વ* in the first step (for *મર-મર*), I rely on *પ્રત્યક્ષ* in the first step (for *મર મર*), (leaving aside the difference of view already pointed out as regards *વે મી* as a penultimate step). With regard to this divergence, it may be pointed out once more that cases like *વર* changed to *વવર* are actually found, while *મવવ* has not been changed to *મવવ*, for where (in rare cases) the *વ* of *મવ* or *વ* of *મર* has undergone *વિવ*, it has resulted in —

(1) the narrow *વે* or *મી* (as in *વિવર વાવે-૧* etc.)

or (2) the *વિવ* remaining in hiatus (as in *મરવિ, મરવિ* (after *વિવે* of *વ* in *મર*))

or (3) as *વે* or *મી* (as in *મીવિ, મીવિ*).

and it is peculiar to Gujarātī and Mārāvāḍī. The sound in Bangālī is nearer to this विवृत sound than is the short *A suggestion.* sound in Pālī; but the phonetic process which we have traced is inapplicable in the case of Bangālī. Now, this wide sound came into Gujarātī and Mārāvāḍī during the early history of their growth, probably about the early part of the seventeenth century of the Christian era; this is indicated by the significant fact that Mārāvāḍī Mss. belonging to that period try to symbolize the sound, however inadequately, yet obviously designedly, by writing ऐ and औ. This period coincides with the time when the Mogul Empire had just been consolidated by Akbar, and Akbar's great efforts had brought Arabic and Persian literature and languages into close contact with Indian literature and languages. It is therefore very possible that this wide sound which is peculiarly similar to, or at least extremely near, the pre-wide sound of Arabic and Persian words of the types of इय़ान and क़ज़, was matured under the indirect influence of these foreign languages. It is certainly not unlikely that the sound in वयण-वय़ण should have recognised a close likeness in the foreign word इय़ान, or that कवड़ी-कव़ड़ी should have found a similar correspondence in the sound in क़ज़, and that thus a silent current of phonal influence generated and established itself. Bearing in mind the fact that the Arabic-Persian sound is not अ-अ but अय़-अय़, it would be more correct to say that this sound as well as the Gujarātī-Mārāvāḍī sound in the अय़-अय़ stage, developed into the wide sound finally in Gujarātī and Mārāvāḍī. I am aware that Hindi, the language of a province where the Mogul influence was wider and more powerful, has the sound not identically wide with Gujarātī and Mārāvāḍī. This can be very well accounted for by the comparatively sturdy character of the people speaking Hindi who tried to steer clear of this foreign influence and only partially succeeded, for, after all, the similarity between the new indigenous sound and the foreign sound was really very close. Marāṭhī came under this foreign influence in a lesser degree, in spite of the fact that numerous Persian words were imported during the

period noted above; and consequently it did not succumb to the influence so far and preserved the \tilde{u} and \tilde{w} sounds as narrow ones. This was mainly due to its tendency to subordinate the accentuation of the \tilde{u} in the vocalic groups $\tilde{u}i$ and $\tilde{u}r$.

[Mr. Beames, Vol. I pp. 110-111, sees non-Aryan influences at work in what he calls "the breaking down of a and i into e ." But under this head he indiscriminately includes the \tilde{u} sound as also the short sound in Pāli and Prākṛit found in words like $\tilde{u}m$, $\tilde{u}r$ and the like. He connects this sound with the contact between the Aryan tribes and the Kōle and Dravīdians. As regards Gujarātī he says—"The Aryans of Gujarāt also displaced non-Aryan tribes, and may from them have caught this trick of speech." As this refers obviously to the short e in words like $\tilde{u}m$ &c., and the Gujarātī has at no stage possessed such a sound, that theory cannot be accepted with regard to the \tilde{u} sound in Gujarātī which, as I have noted above, came into existence only after the Persian contact during the early part of the seventeenth century.]

Dr. Tessitori has done me the honour of criticizing my views on this wide sound as expressed in my article in the Indian Antiquary, XLVI, Part DLXXXIX, 1917, A. D. and Vol. XLVII, Parts DXCI and DXCII 1918 A.D. His criticism is published in the Indian Antiquary Vol. XLVII, Part DXCIN, September 1918 A.D. pp. 225 ff. As his arguments are not such as to shake my conclusions, I do not enter upon a detailed rejoinder here. However, my remarks on his fresh article are entered in Note B at the end of this Lecture.

We take leave of this *utarga* about the \tilde{u} sound in $\tilde{u}i$ - $\tilde{u}r$ and pass on to another important *utarga*.

Utsarga II—
 $\tilde{u}i$ - $\tilde{u}r$ and $\tilde{u}i$ and
 loss of \tilde{u} as an i
 and \tilde{u} as an i .

UTSARGA II

The $\tilde{u}i$ and $\tilde{u}r$ endings of masculine nouns and \tilde{u} and \tilde{u} endings of neuter nouns, the principles underlying these variations

Note—Adjectives are to be included along with nouns here.

A few instances may be placed before our eyes in order to consider the conditions of this feature in Gujarati words.

Masculine

ओ ending—

घोडो, आंगो, घडो, पीपळो, साळो, चर्रो, धाळो, रातो, साचो, मांढो,
ल्हावो.

अ ending—

वड, मोर, नोळ, वाघ, साप, साद, मांख.

Neuter

उ ending—

મહું, છનું (મનું, સર્વનું), સાસનું, શમણું, ધાંણું, કાણું, રાતું, મ્હાંડિં, ચણું,
રૂપું, તાણું.

ઐ ending—

घर, वर्ण, र्मण दूध, पाटण, चोर, रींठ, तेल, पीतळ.⁴⁷

Again there are certain words which alternately take the ओ or उ endings as well as retain the अ ending —

ओ ending —

પથરો-પથ્થર;	હંગરો-હંગર;
કાનો-જાન,	ભારો-ભાર,
હાથો-હાથ;	દાતો-દાત,
વાસો-વાસ,	ગામો-ગામ;
રસો-રસ;	પાયો-પાય.

It may be noted that in this list generally, with but a few exceptions, there is a difference of meaning between the word

47. Mr Beames is a little hazy and discrepant in his view of this final ઐ, sometimes recognizing it as a full ઐ and sometimes dropping it out, treating the consonantal ending (See his Vol I, Pp 19-20, and 207-8). He actually writes ધેર, રીર and regards the ઐ as dropped, although (P. 202) he admits the halfway position of the final ઐ. And yet in Vol II, Pp 4-5 he actually treats of the stem ending in ઐ. Yet, again, at Pp. 8 and 188 of the same volume he regards the words as ending in consonants or calls the ઐ by the paradoxical name, "silent ઐ,"—a misnomer, more than a paradox. A silent vowel is an impossibility in Indian tongues and the term and the idea are borrowed from

ending in ओ and that (from the same original) ending in अ (see n. 50 *infra*).

उं ending:—

पानुं-पान; गानुं-गाय; भानुं-भयन; आनुं-आयन; नाहुं-नाह.

The same remark about the difference in meaning applies to these words as that regarding the masculine words, just noted. (See n. 50 *infra*.)

Now, the question is—what is the principle which determines the अ ending in one case and the ओ or उं ending in the other.

The uttaraśloka. The answer may be framed synthetically in the following *uttaraśloka*.

Sanskrit and Prākṛit or *Deśya* words to which the क termination was suffixed at some time or other take the ओ ending in masculine and उं ending in neuter gender; those to which the क termination was not so suffixed take the अ ending; while those which took the क suffix and dropped it alternately (when, generally, the meaning of the word was changed) take the ओ or उं ending and the अ ending alternately.

The analysis of this rule is as under —

(b) According to the same *sūtra* (VIII-iv-331) Sanskrit words ending in अ, without the क termination, turn the final अ into उ; and thus we have शब्दः (Skr.), सद्मे (Pr.), सद्मे (Apabhr.). This final उ is changed into अ in Gujarātī under the operation of a widely applicable *utsarga* to be noticed later on. (e. g. मधु-मध, विना-विणु-विण; etc.). So we have सद्मे (after संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व).

NEUTER.

⁴⁸(c) According to *Si-III*. VIII-iv-354-कान्तस्यातउंस्यमोः, in *Apabhramśa* neuter words ending in क (i. e. अक) before the nominative (and accusative) singular termination turn the final अ into उ. Thus:—

पर्णकं (Skr.)-पर्णउं (Apabhramśa)-पाउं⁴⁹ (G.). [संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व; and change of ण to न].

(d) According to *Si-H*. VIII-iv-331, in the case of words not ending in क, the words turn their final अ to उ before the nominative (and accusative) singular termination; thus गृहं (Skr.)-घरं (Pr.)-घर (Apabhr.)-घर (G.) [The final उ turns into अ as noted under (b) above].

In the case of words in the alternative list given above, the termination क is appended and dropped by turns and through the operation of the above-named *sūtras* of Hēmachandra we get the alternative forms in Gujarātī with the ओ or उ ending on the one hand, and the अ ending on the other;

In the case of alternative forms like कानो-कान् dea. the क suffix is alternately added and dropped, hence the two forms.

48. Śīśrī Vrajakī in his *Utsargamālā* deals with the ओ ending (*utsarga* 156) and only cites forms with उ ending under *utsarga* 175 which treats the उ ending in *Apabhramśa* of masculine and neuter nouns. Here his treatment is faulty in both the cases. He does not take the ओ ending through the क suffix and consequent अउ; nor does he account for the *anuvāda* in the उ ending, as we have seen in *Si-III*. VIII-iv-354, (of course the *anuvāda* is the remnant of the ए in the Sanskrit neuter termination).

49. The अ in अउ becomes दुवउ and is therefore dropped.

Thus—

Flr.	Apr ^l hr.	Gr.
प्रमलरत्न.	पमलरत्न	पमली
प्रमलरः	पमलर	पमलर;
वर्णितः	वर्णित	वर्णित
वर्णः	वर्ण	वर्ण;
हमलरः	हमलर	हमली
हमलः	हमल	हमल;
वर्णितः	वर्णित	वर्णित
वर्णः	वर्ण	वर्ण;
रमलरः	रमलर	रमली
रमलः	रमल	रमल;
	(dēga) दृगलरत्न	दृगली
	दृगलर	दृगलर;
भारलरः	भारलर	भारली
भारलः	भारल	भारल;
हमलरः	हमलर	हमली
हमलः	हमल	हमल;
गमलरः	गमलर	गमली
गमलः	गमल	गमल;
वारलरः	वारलर	वारली
वारलः	वारल	वारल;
वर्णित	वर्णित	वर्णित
वर्ण	वर्ण	वर्ण;
भारलर	भारलर	भारल;
भारल	भारल	भारल;
भारलर	भारलर	भारल;
भारल	भारल	भारल;
भारलर	भारलर	भारल;
भारल	भारल	भारल;
	(dēga) दृगलर	दृगल
	दृगल	दृगल.

(Here are words whose meanings are modified or altered by

Alternative forms the क suffix in the resulting Gujarâtî words.)⁵⁰
occur when the The same principles apply to words derived
sense of the words from *Deśya* language:—
is changed.

पारककं
 गिरिअं(कं)
 कोडुं

पारकां
 गिरिअं
 कोडु

पारकुं
 गिरुं
 कोड

50. Thus.—पथर 1, a large stone slab,

2. Stone, as material, pebble, पथरी a stone pebble,

कान—the ear;

काने—the round rim portion of vessels—jars, loṭas &c.

हाथ—the hand,

हाथी—a handle;

बांस—a bamboo;

बांसी—the back; (from Skr. वैश्व—the back bone)

रस—1. taste; 2. fluid.

रसी—Gravy, some fluid portion in an eatable or cooked dish.

दाँत—a tooth, the teeth,

दाँती—the tooth of a comb, saw or the like.

गाम—the foetus,

गामो—the inner stuffing of a cushion and the like;

पाद—a foot, a leg, (of an animal)

पदी—Foundation; the leg of a chair, stool, &c.

पान—a leaf (the leaf of a tree), a beetle-leaf.

पानुं—the leaf of a book.

साच—Truthfulness.

साचुं—True.

भरण—Powdered stuff put into the eyes, for sore eyes.

भरणुं—Remittance, addition, &c.

नाक—Nose.

नाकुं—The mouth of a street, the hole of a needle.

Only two words in the list given above keep the meaning unchanged, with or without the क; डुंग and डुंगरी both mean a hill, a mountain; and अंगन and अंगण both mean a court-yard.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{पाणिं} \\ \text{पाणिर्} \end{array} \right\}$

पां

पोरह(ए)

 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{उभो(+ए)} \\ (=ह) \end{array} \right\}$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{पाणु} \\ \text{पाणुर्} \end{array} \right\}$

पु

पोरह

उभह

 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{पान} \\ \text{पानुं} \end{array} \right\}$

प

पोरहो

उहो

[In *Apabhraṃśa* the ह termination is sometimes tacked on twice, e. g. पोरहिने रिभहउं भन्नाउं (Si. III. VIII-iv-122, illustration). रिभहउं is=हउपहउं-रिभहउं-रिभहउं]

पोहो

पोह

पोर (=a parrot)

पह(ए)(+ए) पहपह

पहियो (=a lioness)

(The भ in ह is दुसहर and then dropped.)

Now the question is . . . Why is it that some words take the ए suffix, and others do not? Again, why do *affiliated* *members* some words take it at one time and not at another? This root-searching question has exercised Mr. Beames' mind considerably and he has devoted several pages (Vol. II. Pp 6 to

15, also P. 10) to an able inquiry into it, although he is led occasionally into some erroneous conclusions. He has tried to show that Dr. Hoernle's theory which accounts for the ओ ending by the ए termination is not correct, and himself advances the theory of accent, viz. that oxytones, i. e. words with an accent on the last vowel (भानोदुपह) take the ओ ending, whereas tarytones, i. e. words with an accent on the penultimate vowel (or even भादुपह) take the ए ending; and that the same principle applies to the उ ending of neuter nouns and the corresponding ए ending. His reason apparently is that the accent on the final vowel makes it prominent and hence the final ओ, whereas the accent not being on it reduces its prominence and hence the weakened ए.

Let us examine this theory. One argument against the theory of accent is this — If the ओ or ए ending is determined by the accent, how is it that the same Sanskrit word gives two Goṣṭhi forms—

one ending in ओ, the other in अ ? e. g. कानो-कान; हाथो-हाथ &c. If it is contended that the change in the meaning is accompanied by a change in the accent; all I ask is—Is there any proof of this ? Besides at least in one or two instances (हुंगरो, आंगणुं; हुंगर, आंगण) there is no change in the meaning. How can this defence apply in this case, then ?

On the other hand, there are sure grounds in support of the क theory.—

Sure grounds in support of the क theory.

(1) Prakṛit has घोदो, *Apabhramśa* घोड्ड and घोड्ड, Old Western Rājasthānī घोड्ड. This intervening form ending in अउ indicates that

the Gujarātī ओ ending could not have come from the Prākṛit ओ ending (especially as the ओ is अर्धविवृत in Gujarātī and not in Prākṛit). Well, then, this अउ can be accounted for in one of two alternative ways:—

(1) The Prākṛit ओ ending got split up into अ and उ, and so घोदो became घोड्ड in *Apabhramśa* and Old Western Rājasthānī;

or (2) The क termination was affixed to the Sanskrit or Prākṛit original word, and thus the final अक became अउ in *Apabhramśa*.

Of these two theories, (1) seems highly improbable; ओ is known to split up into अउ (and the process explained by physical peculiarities of the people) but ओ never. There is no authority or probability to support the theory. For (2) there is ample support in the *sūtra* VIII-iv-331 &c. discussed above.

(b) Taking the अउ, then to result from the क suffix, the अर्धविवृत final ओ of nouns in the masculine gender in Gujarātī finds a complete explanation, as already shown in the discussion of the last *utsarga*,⁵¹ whereas the accent theory (deprived of the क suffix and consequent अउ) will leave this अर्धविवृत sound unex-

51. Thus a link between the last *utsarga* (*Utsarga I*) and the present one (*Utsarga II*) is furnished in this अर्धविवृत sound of the ओ ending.

plained for, that ओ (emerged through अउ-अउ अउ) will always be अउिउण, -अउण

[Mr Beames, virtually admitting the ऋ(अउ) termination (Vol II P. 29) just misses the real constitution and genesis of the ओ ending when he says that the अउ becomes अओ (by the elision of ऋ) and that 'In the moderns the अ drops out and the ओ is retained in G and S, but changed to आ in the others' as we know the अउ becomes अउ which alone can give the अउिउण ओ or the अउ becomes अअ and gives ओ in M and H practically — The change of ओ to आ is really unknown]

Let us go further into the question. There are certain

<i>Barfoss (अउिउण) is a little different from the one in Mr Beames's text as I say in this paper I could take the ओ as well</i>	larytones which according to Mr Beames' accent rule should take the अ उर'ing alone, and yet in fact they take the ओ ending as well with a change in the meaning these are —
	कान-कानो (Skr कान) दान-दानो (Skr दान)
	गान-गानो (Skr गान) दान-दानो (Skr दान)
	मान-मानो (Skr मान)

मने (मो) is not even optionally अउगान although एम

It is also noteworthy that in peasants' Gujarātī દોર has દોરા (=cattle) in the plural, so માણસ-plural માણસાં, જાદ-plural જાદા, મચ્છર (=a mosquito)-plural મચ્છરા,⁵³ &c. The ⁵³simplification of the conjunct in મચ્છર without the lengthening of the preceding vowel when it takes the plural form, મચ્છરા distinctly indicates the cause, viz the shifting of the accent from the initial to the final vowel. This may perhaps give an indication of the partial correctness of the accent theory of Mr Beames.

अणु is a barytone in popular Sanskrit, oxytone only in Vedic Sanskrit (सिद्धमन्त्र, पाद I, *sutra* 14). According to Mr Beames' theory, then, it ought to be अणु and not अणो as it is in Gujarātī. It may be accounted for by arguing that the ओ ending is due to the influence of Vedic Sanskrit, as the Prakrits are very old, and possess some features in common with Vedic Sanskrit, e. g. the ङ sound in the Paisācī Prakrit (*Sr. II*, VIII-iv-308), and the use of the genitive for the dative form (*Sr. II*, VIII-iii-131, and Panini II-iii-62).

Mr Beames is not unconscious of these stumbling-blocks in the path of his accent theory. He himself notes these exceptions in the lists given by him. The only thing is that he unfairly throws the onus on the holders of the क theory. (Vol III, P 14, first para of 85 and last para of the page) For, these men do not advance the theory that क is

affixed in the case of a particular accent. It is Mr Beames himself who claims for the accent the position of the determining cause.

However, Mr Beames has an explanation for the above noted anomalies viz that the influence of the accent is seen only in what he calls early *tadbhavas*, in late *tadbhavas* exceptions may crop up and there are in the late *tadbhavas* some words which may be co-existent with

53 Skr मयक, (+ङ) मयकक. Pr मसङ्गो, Apabh'r मसङ्ग, मयङ्ग, (masculine changed to neuter) मयङ्ग. This may be a possible sequence of evolution. The conjunct मङ्ग is evidently a reverse process—from simple to complex—the simplification of the conjunct is therefore to be regarded as a back-reverse movement.

the latest of the early *śaṅkṛta*, and it is therefore difficult to draw a line between the two there. As regards the alternative endings of the same word, he says the words are old *śaṅkṛta* in the primary sense, and new *śaṅkṛta* in the secondary sense, thus—

पत्रं=the leaf of a tree (primary sense), therefore पत्रा,

पत्रं=ear (primary sense), therefore पत्र, edge (secondary sense), therefore पत्रो and so forth for गाम-गामो, &c.

However, in the case of words like पृथ, पृथ, &c., which being of daily and familiar use gave the old *śaṅkṛta*, what explanation can Mr. Beames give regarding the defence of accent? Only the difficulty of drawing a line between the old and the new *śaṅkṛta*. As for the opposite cases, i.e. words which do not take the *śaṅkṛta* ending although they are *śaṅkṛta*, e.g. पृथ-पृथ, Mr. Beames explains that he cannot find many undoubted examples of that class, and that even those that do occur do not run through all the seven vernaculars. But this leaves the exceptional form unexplained, after all.

I may suggest here a possible explanation—viz. that the accent may have shifted in the course of transit

In support of the explanation, the oldest way here offered is found in Sanskrit.

from Sanskrit to Prakrit or it may have been regarded as having shifted, and this may have affected the phonetic change. Sanskrit and Prakrit were at one period spoken simultaneously. During that period certain words had the

forms dependent on the ear, not on the eye, and these are the early *śaṅkṛta*. Others were reconstituted from the written language by learned men centuries after it had ceased to be spoken these are the late *śaṅkṛta*. This is Mr. Beames' decision and thus he throws all the exceptions in the class of late *śaṅkṛta*.

in the manifest existence of the क termination in the shape of the ओ or उ ending, this termination is perceptible whereas accent is past and gone and thus imperceptible to the ear or to the eye in writing

But Mr Beames himself does not discard the क theory altogether. There are a number of statements in his work which show this. In stating Dr Hoernle's क theory (Vol II P 5) he says distinctly -

Mr Beames does not really discard the क theory of Dr Hoernle's

To this opinion I in the main subscribe "

Only he goes a step further and advances his accent theory giving reasons. At Pp 26-30 he discusses the क termination in detail and there are several assertions there supporting the क theory. At P 29 he actually cites घोडओ II घोडा⁵⁴ (Only he does not give the *Apabhramśa* घोडउ). But clearest of all is his following statement -

Here also it may be admitted that as the suffix may be added at will to all nouns in Prākṛit it is probable that many of the nouns ending in long *u* or *o* which I have held to be derived from Sanskrit oxytones *do in reality owe their final long vowel to the fact that the word from which they are derived had in popular though not in classical usage a क tacked on to it* "

(Vol II, P 30)

(The italics are mine)

Only he adds a query -

The difficulty as already mentioned is the existence of any nouns in *au* if /a is added to all nouns of the *a*-stem why do not all end in *-o*?

[Note -The *u* ending is found in Sindh and before the 14th century in the later *Apabhramśa* Kachchī has अ for the final उ]

The defect in this query is that Mr Beames unwarrantably

54 It may be remembered that the II ndt ओ ending corresponds to the Gujarātī ओ ending though the former results from ओअ and the latter from अव

assumes that the holders of the क theory contend that *o* is added to the *u* termination. They only say that where the *u* is added we have the *o*-*u* endings, and where it is not added we have the *u*-*u* endings.¹²³

Dr. Hoernle's theory. It will be useful to quote Dr. Hoernle fully as he has stated fully, and here and examine his theory briefly. He says -

"In Prakrit any nominal case (sic 'case') may have two forms as regards the termination: 1. a *general* form which it has also in Sanskrit, and 2. a *particular* form, peculiarly Prakrit, made by the addition of the affix क (See Pr. Prak. IV, 25). e. g. tree is वृक्ष (*general* form) or वृक्षक (*particular* form), done is कृत (*general*) or कृतक (*part.*), true is सत्य (*general*) or सत्यक (*particular*) etc. The consonant क is generally elided, hence वृक्षभ, कृतभ, सत्यभ. The nominative singular of these cases would be respectively वृक्षो or वृक्षभो for वृक्षो, कृतो or कृतभो (for कृतो), सत्यो or सत्यभो (for सत्यो), etc. Now, Prakrit nouns may of course pass into the Gaurian in both or either of these forms. But according as they did so in their *general* or in their *particular* peculiarly Prakrit form, they retained their Prakritic complexion, and these nouns constitute the Prakritic element of the Hind-class Gaurian. On the other hand, if they passed into the Gaurian in the *general* form they readily submitted to the action of the pure Gaurian phonetic and grammatical principles (that is, the law to change भो to उ and the law of not admitting an oblique form), and thus these nouns constitute the *pure* Gaurian element of the Hind-class Gaurian. This may be illustrated again by the present participle, 'being' in Prakrit is कृतो (or कृतो) or कृतभो, to

in the manifest existence of the क termination in the shape of the ओ or उ ending, this termination is perceptible, whereas accent is past and gone and thus imperceptible to the ear or to the eye in writing

But Mr Beames himself does not discard the क theory altogether There are a number of statements

Mr Beames does not really discard the क theory of Dr Hoernle's

in his work which show this In stating Dr Hoernle's क theory (Vol II, P 5) he says distinctly -

' To this opinion I in the main subscribe ''

Only he goes a step further and advances his accent theory, giving reasons. At Pp 26-30 he discusses the क termination in detail, and there are several assertions there supporting the क theory. At P. 29 he actually cites घोडओ-ह. घोडा⁵⁴. (Only he does not give the *Apabhramśa* घोडउ). But clearest of all is his following statement -

' Here also it may be admitted that as the suffix may be added at will to all nouns in Prakrit, it is probable that many of the nouns ending in long ā or ō which I have held to be derived from Sanskrit oxytones, *do in reality owe their final long vowel to the fact that the word from which they are derived had in popular though not in classical usage a क tacked on to it* '

(Vol II, P 30)

(The italics are mine)

Only he adds a query -

"The difficulty, as already mentioned is the existence of any nouns in a-u, if ka is added to all nouns of the a-stem why do not all end in ā-ō?"

[Note -The u ending is found in Sindhi and before the 14th century in the later *Apabhramśa* Kachchi has अ for the final उ]

The defect in this query is that Mr Beames unwarrantably

54 It may be remembered that the Hindi ओ ending corresponds to the Gujarātī ओ ending though the former results from ओअ and the latter from अउ.

assumes that the holders of the क theory contend that *all* nouns take the क termination. They only say that where the क is added we have the *ā-ū* endings, and where it is not added we have the *u-u* endings.⁵⁵

Dr. Hoernle's theory stated fully, and examined. It will be useful to quote Dr. Hoernle fully here and examine his theory briefly. He says:—

“In Prākṛit any nominal case (sic? base?) may have two forms as regards the termination: 1 a *general* form which it has also in Sanskrit, and 2, a *particular* form, peculiarly Prākṛit, made by the addition of the affix क (See Pr. Prak. IV, 25); e.g. bee is भ्रमर (*general* form) or भ्रमरक (*particular* form); done is क्ति (*general*) or क्तिक् (*part.*); true is सच (*general*) or सचक (*particular*) etc. The consonant क् is generally elided; hence भ्रमरञ्, क्तिञ्, सचञ्. The nominative singular of these cases would be respectively: भ्रमरो or भ्रमरओ, for भ्रमरको; क्तिओ or क्तिओ (for क्तिको); सचो or सचओ (for सचको), etc. Now, Prākṛit nouns may of course pass into the Gauṛian in both or either of these forms. But according as they did so in their *general* or in their *particular* peculiarly Prākṛit form, they retained their Prākṛitic complexion, and these nouns constitute the Prākṛitic element of the Hindī class Gauṛian. On the other hand, if they passed into the Gauṛian in the *general* form, they readily submitted to the action of the pure Gauṛian phonetic and grammatical principles, (that is, the law to change ओ to उ and the law of not admitting an oblique form), and thus these nouns constitute the *proper* Gauṛian element of the Hindi class Gauṛian. This may be illustrated again by the present participle; “being” in Prākṛit is दान्तो (? होन्तो) or होन्तओ, in

55 Mr. Beames refers in the foot note at Page 50 (Vol II) to Dr. Hoernle's article in J. A. S. Beng. XLI, 154 and says he holds this view of क being always added. From Mr. Beames' own reproduction of Dr. Hoernle's view at P. 5 however, it would seem that Dr. Hoernle simply says that all words which end in *ā-ū* are to be derived from words with a क suffix. This is quite a different thing from saying that *all* nouns take the क suffix. Dr. Hoernle's view will be manifest from the full quotation given and discussed in the text above.

both forms it passed into the Gauṛian; but the form होन्तओ was contracted to हातो (? होतो) (for होन्तो) and remained unchanged or modified to होत (in High Hindi); while the form होन्तो was changed to होतु (for होन्तु). It is easy enough to understand that the Gauṛian termination ओ (or आ) being a contraction of the Prākṛit termination अओ could not be reduced to उ, while the simple termination ओ could be so reduced. The same fact, viz: that the Gauṛian ओ is a contraction of the Prākṛit अओ, may perhaps explain its curious Braj Bhāṣā form औ, the diphthong औ (=अ+अ+उ) is more strictly an equivalent of अओ (i. e. अ+ओ or अ+अ+उ) than the simple ओ".

("Essays on the Gauṛian Languages.", J.A.S. Beng. XLI, 151)

[It may be noted here that Dr. Hoernle divides the vernaculars of India into Dravidian and Gaudian on the analogy of the racial divisions of गौड and द्राविड, and under the head of Gauṛian languages he brings the "Sanskṛitic languages of North India" viz: The Oriyā, the Bangālī, the Hindi, the Naipālī, the Marāṭhī, the Gujarātī, the Sindhī, the Panjābī, and the Kāshmirī].

Now, in the views disclosed in the above extract there is *Confusion of phonetic principles in Dr. Hoernle's views.* visible a certain amount of confusion of phonetic principles governing the evolution of the Prākṛits and the present day vernaculars. Thus—

- (a) The *Apabhraṃśa* step of उ (as the final vowel) in the case of nouns of the अ stem (masculine as well as neuter), and that of ई in the case of neuter nouns ending in अ and with the क suffix, are not recognized. This is perhaps because Dr. Hoernle fixes his eye on the Prākṛit *Prakāśa* only which does not treat of *Apabhraṃśa* at all. And we know that *Apabhraṃśa* is the language which preceded O. W. Rājasthānī in the evolutionary process.

[This is the more surprising because only a short while before at Pp. 150-151 Dr. Hoernle deals with what he calls the Gaudian law of reducing the final diphthong (he means the final

ए-ओ) or long vowel (आ-ई-ऊ) of the Prākṛit to its inherent simple vowel, and in the course of the treatment notices the final short उ as in सनेहु, आयसु &c in Hindi poetry. In fact he says every noun which now ends in अ in Hindi ended in उ in Hindi poetry, and he calls these archaic forms. And yet Dr. Hoernle's dropping this link in the chain between *Apabhramśa* and the modern vernaculars is not surprizing; for although he sees traces of this उ in the Prākṛit stage, it is not in the wide-spread उ ending of *Apabhramśa* but in the limited scope of certain *sūtras* XI-11, V-19, 20, of *Pr. Prak.*, the former applying only in *Māgadhi* to क्त्वन्त participles and the latter in *Mahārāṣṭrī* or general Prākṛit to the ओ termination of feminine nouns only (P. 150 note †)].

[Dr. Hoernle sees the prevalence of the law of shortening of the finals over an extensive field, and rightly. But sometimes he overshoots the mark as when (P. 152) he traces the लोइ in "सुष लोइ आचिज समान्यौ" back to लोगे nom. sing. *Māgadhi* of लोक when in fact the इ in this case is that of the instrumental लोकेन-लोकइ-लोभइ; लोकि-लोइ), a fact which he could have perceived at once, for he himself renders the line as "सुष लोगे आश्रय माना". Well may we descend to the level of सुषलोक and feel wonder here.]

- (b) Consequently, he regards the change of ओ to उ as a Gaudian peculiarity, when in fact, it is but a remnant of the *Apabhramśa* and post-*Apabhramśa* processes.
- (c) Also, as a consequence of the ignoring of the उ and उ steps of *Apabhramśa* the Gaudian ओ and आ are wrongly regarded by Dr. Hoernle as the contractions of अओ, when the correct view is, that the Gaudian ओ comes from *Apabhramśa* and O. W. Rājasthānī forms in अउ (an intermediate step which cannot be ignored), and the Gaudian आ is the result of the अअ left by the elision of the क in अक, a result which began during the *Apabhramśa* stage itself, (e. g. दोआ, दीहा, etc).
- (d) It is also incorrect to say that the ओ ending of *Brāj*

Bhāshā proceeds from the अ ओ; or that अ+अ+उ=अ+ओ yield the औ. The correct view is that the औ ending of *Bray Bhāshā* is derived from the O. W. Rājasthānī अउ, and is either a misleading symbol of the wide अ or stands for the अव्यवृत्त ओ. It is true that अ+उ make ओ and अ+ओ make औ under the rules of *sandhi*. But these rules are very often only practical guides not dealing with the actual working of internal phonetic principles. For, औ is really अउ in its phonal constitution, being the result of a shortened interval between अ and उ, and thus अ+ओ in order to result into औ (even in the *sandhi* process) must pass through the अ+उ stage by shortening the ओ to उ in the first instance. Even in the case of ओ resulting from अ+उ under the *sandhi* process, there is a phonal truth underlying it; for अ+उ pronounced with a particular tone-flow (as in पर+उपकार) yields the ओ (परोपकार), while अ+उ yield औ not as a *sandhi* result, but as the synthetic sound which can be phonally analyzed into अ+उ only; or, better, it is a *sandhi* result of a peculiar kind, arising from the shortening of time-interval between the components, अ and उ.

You will thus see that under the examination in the light of principles hitherto dealt with by me in our whole inquiry Dr. Hoernle's diagnosis of the ओ and उ endings, is correct only as far as it lights upon the क suffix, but is faulty in the matter of the internal steps leading up to the final form.

Taking everything stated in the discussion of this question into our view, can we not suggest a synthetic reconciliation between Dr. Hoernle's and Mr. Beames' theories? I think, we can. In fact there is hardly any real conflict between the two theories, as I see them; one is but a comment of the other. We can easily combine the two and lay

synthetic reconciliation suggested between Mr. Beames' and Dr. Hoernle's theories.

down a synthesis of the two apparently opposite views, somewhat in the following form:—

The ओ and उ endings in Gujarātī (and the आ ending in Marāṭhī and Hindī) can be traced back to an original क suffix, no doubt; and thus ओ (also आ) is the patent effect of that suffix. But it was also the case that the suffix was added to words with the accent on the final vowel, and not to others.

. Thus, the accent is not the direct cause of the ending, while the क suffix is; the क suffix is, in a way, the उपादान i. e. समवायिकारण of the ओ ending and उ ending, while the accent is their निमित्तकारण, being an indirect influence. The accent, to put it differently, is a co-ordinate factor, which brings into play the क suffix for a special purpose. This purpose is the protection of the final vowel against the corrosion of decay. I would illucidate this: (Skr.) घोटः—घोटो (G.). Here the original word is अन्तोदात्त; as long as there is accent, the final ओ has a chance of standing on its own legs. But in *Apabhramśa* the principle of accent disappeared more or less, and the final ओ became comparatively unimportant, which reduced the final ओ of आयुदात्त words like हत्यो to उ (हत्यु). To prevent this fate in the case of what were at one time अन्तोदात्त words like घोटः, i. e. to save the final ओ of घोटो from becoming उ (घोटु), with the final उ reduced to insignificance, a protecting letter in the shape of the neutral suffix क (स्वार्थे कः i. e. which preserves the original sense⁵⁶ of the word), a hard consonant, is brought in and tacked on:—thus घोटकः steps in; just as a strong masonry wall is built up in front of a river-bank in danger of being swept away by the force of the stream. घोटकः thus becomes घोटओ;—for, after all, the क cannot come *after* the ओ (घोटोक would be absurd), and the fate that was only deferred overtakes the ओ left by the wearing off (or rather the knocking off) of the protecting consonant (क्) and it becomes उ;—घोटउ; the river current corrodes the masonry wall instead of washing away the earth on the bank, the अ of इ is saved and the क् gets washed off and the ओ after it is reduced to उ.

56. This excludes the exceptional cases like गम-गमो, where the sense is altered. They will be considered soon further below.

The word पर्ण affords a significant indication of this analysis. In *śiṣṭa* Gujarati पाउ is not the form for the primary sense (a leaf) but it is पादङ्ग. Here the word being अन्तोदात्त the suffix ङ (for क) is tacked on to preserve the final vowel from corrosion.

The word रासा-रासो will throw a good light on this क theory. In Sanskrit रासक means a form of उपरूपक (a dramatic play) or a particular kind of dance called हरीदा,⁵⁷ accompanied by a particular time measure. Now रासक (masc.) must be a newly coined Sanskrit word at some time or other and the Gujarati word रास came from रास, whereas रासक in the new sense of an epic poem gave us the word रासो through the Hindi रासो, *Apabhraṃśa* and O W Rijasthani रासउ. Here the क suffix is undoubtedly equally with the ओ-ओ ending. This ओ points undeniably to the original क suffix.

The synthetized rule I propose fully accounts for the अर्धविकृत

This explains accounts for the अर्धविकृत so I of the ओ e l n g a l also explains the apparent capriciousness of only some words taking the ओ e l i g

sound of the ओ ending and sets at rest the apparent capriciousness of only some words taking the ओ ending. I admit that the case of alternative endings (ओ-उ alternating with अ) remains yet unexplained fully. Why should रस become रस in one sense and in another become रासो by tacking on the क suffix (रसक-रसउ-रासो)? Why should it be अन्तोदात्त when

it becomes रासो and आशुदात्त when it remains रस? I may only tentatively suggest that the accent shifts with the change in the meaning of the word. I say tentatively because in the beginning of this discussion I have laid some stress on the want of any proof as to the shifting of the accent. It may however be pointed out

57 मन्त्रेन तु यस्मिन् नृप इहोदकं तु तत्र ।

तत्र भेदा मयेरेको गोमयिनां यथा हरि ॥

इहोदकेन ताडयन्निशेषयुक्तं रामकम् ।

(A *key darśa* of Dandi Bibliotheca Indica edition P. 36 commentary by Premachandra Tarkavagīśa) (At P. 34 the commentary speaks of रामक and इहोद as varieties of उपरूपक, which are *unite dīśa*.)

that this state of uncertainty results not from the क theory, but from combining with it the accent theory?

[The case of पथर-पथरो affords a good indication of the shifting of accent:

(a) पथर, (b) पथरउ.

In (a) the अ in प is strong because of the conjunct रथ; it is accented obviously. In (b) the conjunct is simplified and yet the preceding vowel is not lengthened. This shows that the first 'yllable has become unaccented, and the accent has moved down to the final vowel.

इत्थ-इत्थउ-इत्थउ (हाथ-हाथो) will not clash against this demonstration, as it is a word of two syllables and therefore is subjected to different forces.]

It may be suggested that after all the क suffix is but an stymological fiction. For all we actually see in *Apabhramśa* and subsequent stages is the अउ. In this अउ the अ being accented the उ stands apart. What could this उ stand for? Hence the क suffix was fictioned. This is only a possible hypothesis. The क theory remains unaffected thereby.

Thus, the *utsarga* I have enunciated broadly—viz: that words to which क^{3a} was suffixed take the ओ or उं ending (masculine or neuter as the case be) and those to which the क suffix was not tacked on take the अ ending, stands on a firm basis.

58. It may be objected that this क ought to change to ग in *Apabhramśa*. (81.—He-VIII-iv-396), e. g. काकः-काग (काकटकः-कागडो); वकः-वग (वकककः-वगडो); कामनकार; कामनगारो etc.

But the gloss on the *sūtra* says, प्रायोऽधिकारात्स्वान्न भवति। This *adhikāra* is in the *sūtra* which begins the *Apabhramśa* chapter (VIII-iv-323); and in the gloss thereon also Hēmachandra says:-प्रायोऽपह्नाद् यस्य पत्रेणे विशेषे वक्ष्यते तस्यापि क्वचित् प्राह्णवत् शौरसेनैवच कार्यं भवति॥

Therefore क्वचित् भवति quoted just above does not mean that where क is not changed to ग it remains unaltered, but the general Prākṛit rule of elision obtains in this case also. In the illustration of VIII-iv-396 the word कणिभर (for कणिभर) is given; this fact supports this interpretation about the elision of the क.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar has a very thoughtful and suggestive theory regarding these ओ-उं and अ endings. A perusal of Pp. 157-161 of his lectures (*"Wilson Philological Lectures"*) is strongly recommended. (Only where he says that the अउ combine into ओ, I would say they yield the अपेक्षित अ through the steps-अउ, अव-अर्.) He has shown therein that the ओ-उं (and M. आ-ऐ) endings are the result of accent as well as the क suffix, though he does not combine the two factors exactly in the shape I have done. His view, however, practically supports the synthesis I have suggested. He further advances an important theory that *originally* क was tacked on only where some additional sense was intended to be expressed: दांत=tooth, but दांता (M.) "a copy of the animal tooth," i.e. "the tooth of such an instrument as a saw," are among the instances given by him. He holds that there were some words to which the क was not appended at all, and of those to which it was appended two forms existed as shown just above. But, he continues, in course of time the forms without क were out of use, and gradually those with it lost the additional sense.

So far Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar's theory lends full support to mine. Only on a minor and incidental point I am compelled to differ. It is as regards the *"silent" अ*, *dis-sented from*; reasons given. He uses this expression. I have shown⁵⁹ above the वदन्तेपावातः or contradiction in terms involved in that expression. This is not merely a nominal difference. The difference lies in the essential nature of the view. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar states. "A great many nouns in our languages end in अ, which has now become silent." (P. 158, ll. 20-21). Again at P. 161, ll. 1 ff. he speaks of the "silent अ" and says that words like अहयण, पीनः, जीयन्त are pronounced as अहयण्, पीनः, जियन्त. With due deference, I must state that the

59. See *Supra*, note 47 of this Lecture.

*Unaccented mis
taken as silent*

अ cannot be and is not "silent", it is only unaccented and द्रुत,—which is not the same thing as silent, at that rate all short vowels that are

not accented may be called silent, and the pronunciation in the words just above noted is not correctly described अहचण with the अ, in ह and ण, unaccented is not the same thing as अहचण् (with the अ actually dropped). Unaccented does not mean 'not pronounced at all' Take, for instance the words, चोपडी, वेसतो and the like The अ in the medial syllables here is of course

*The metrical test
a true test*

unaccented, but if it were silent the result would be चोपडी, वेसतो &c. and a correct test will be furnished by metrical use Pat वेसतो,

चोपडी, in verse with the अ unaccented, the quantity will still be five *matras*, whereas in वेसतो, चोपडी it will measure four *matras*. You cannot call the अ silent and yet compute its *matrā* as one, really it is nil A concrete illustration will be helpful to a clear understanding of this position

ओ ईश्वर तुं एक् छे सरज्यो रहें संसार

In this line of a *doharu* metre you should notice the sound of अ in the र of ईश्वर, in the क of एक्, and in the final र of संसार If the अ in all these was silent the result would be

ओ ईश्वर् तुं एक् छे सरज्यो रहें संसार,

and while the syllable, श्व, would be *guru* because of the conjunct रतु, the loss of one *matrā* in एक् and संसार would make the metre deficient in quantity.

Take another test the Parsis (who are in the habit of writing वेसतो &c. in consequence of a wrong apprehen-

*Another test the
quantity of the pre-
ceding vowel affected*

sion of the sounds) write उप्योग for उपयोग and also pronounce the word as उप्योग The result is, the उ before प्यो (conjunct) becomes

guru, is so pronounced when in fact it is short and unemphasized (1 e लघु) and the अ in प unaccented all the same If you regard it as silent the result would be उ *guru*, which it is not A better instance will be found in the word कपडु Here the अ in प is

unaccented and द्रुत; but if it were to be regarded as silent the result would be कपुड् giving गुप्तत्व to the preceding अ in क, which really it does not possess.

I would suggest a still better test. Try and pronounce चोपडी, साप्, on the one hand and चोपडी, साप् on the other; you will surely find that in the case of the latter (with the अ silent, i. e. really dropped) the lips remain closed till the sound is uttered and finished, while in the case of the former (the unaccented अ) the lips, after pronouncing the labial प् (consonant) open gently, though for a brief, quick half⁶⁰ mātrā time, to eject the breath which gives forth the unaccented, द्रुत, अ sound. (I select this instance of a labial consonant with अ in it, because the lips are easiest and surest of being observed; otherwise the same process occurs in the case of other *sthānas* also).

Thus, we see that the so-called "silent" अ is not silent, but merely the result of quick pronunciation and want of accent. This creates an auricular illusion and some people hear कान् for कान, दाय् for दाय and the like. They then go a further step in error and give to this the wrong name, silent, probably on the false analogy of silent sounds or letters known to the English language; false analogy, because in English letters like L are silent in certain words, e. g. *walk, talk, calm, palm*, but then L is a consonant

The sounds कान्, दाय्, an auricular illusion; the error further enhanced by the misnomer, "silent," on the wrong analogy of silent letters in English.

60. I give the unaccented अ half a mātrā here; this may seem to conflict with the one mātrā given by me above in the metrical illustration. The conflict, however, is only outward. It will disappear when we consider that if this अ has $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā the full अ has one mātrā when accented, and this $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā perception is only relative and a sort of false perception created by the absence of accent, from the metrical point of view. It may be safely said that the mātrā measure is reduced by one half in the case of non-metrical pronouncing, and thus the *guru* which has two mātrās, in metrical composition will appear like a single mātrā sound if the silent अ is given $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā.

and silence of such a nature is unknown to our Indian languages. As regards vowels too the silent *i* in "It's" (=It is) or the silent *hu* in "I've" (=I have) will go to support my contention that a silent vowel is nothing but a vowel not pronounced, whereas in the case of unaccented *अ* it *is* pronounced.

I have a suspicion that this creed of the silent *अ* owes its origin to the influence of English associations and was first started by European scholars. We find Mr. Beames, Dr. Hoernle, and Sir George Grierson (and perhaps Dr. Tessitori) amongst the votaries of this creed. Dr. Tessitori calls⁶¹ the *अ* "*quiescent*" in an incidental reference only. I have not come across any discussion of the question by him. It would seem, however, from this indication

Dr. Tessitori and Sir George Grierson on this silent अ.

that he holds the theory of a silent *अ*, though perhaps he may not go to the extreme to which others have gone. Sir George Grierson in giving the system of transliteration adopted in his "Linguistic Survey of India" (after the contents), tells us: "Vowels when not pronounced at the end of a word, are not written in transliteration. Thus *बन* *ban*, not *bana*. When not pronounced in the middle or at the end of a word, they are written in small characters above the line. Thus (Hindi) *देखता* *dêkh^{ta}tâ*, pronounced *dêkh^{ta}tâ*," and so forth. I have not come across any detailed discussion of the point by Sir George. But this much is enough to indicate his creed. Mr. Beames' views have already been dealt with by me in a foregoing portion of this Lecture.⁶²

Dr. Hoernle gives his view in some detail. He states:—
Dr. Hoernle's view "Final short vowels in Gaurian are *quiescent* or not pronounced, so that a word, though ending in reality in a short vowel, virtually terminates in a consonant and is treated accordingly."

61. He speaks of a word ending in a *quiescent a* and cites as an instance, the word *मिर* (*Mārvādi*) = a mirror. (See his article on "Bardic and Historical Survey," J. A. S. Beng., N. S. XII, 78.)

62. See note 47, *supra*.

e. g. कान ear is pronounced *Kān* not *kāna* and treated exactly like बुद्धिमान् *use* (pronounced *budhumān*, not *budhimāna*). This explains also how it happened that words which really end in इ or उ come to be written as if ending in अ. The truth is, that they are not really written with a final अ but their final इ or उ not being pronounced, was also not written. The transcription of the word assimilated itself to the pronunciation; e. g. आग fire seems at first sight by the analogy of कान &c. to be really āga though pronounced only āg; but this is only in appearance, in truth आग stands for आगि (Prākṛit अग्गी, Sanskrit अग्निः). But as final इ was not pronounced it was also suppressed in writing. So again the modern High Hindī कर having done stands for the older Hindī करि (Prākṛit करिअ, Sanskrit कृत्वा), which has dropped its final इ in accomodation to the pronunciation."⁶³

In the light of my remarks on the general question of "silent अ" the view set forth above will be found incorrect. As regards आग, कर (from आगि, करि), the only observations I would make are:—

- (a) That even in Hindī आग्, कर् are not the correct images of the sound; the अ is pronounced, but only unaccented. It is inconceivable how the इ should be entirely dropped and no substitute be left. The truer diagnosis is that the इ gave place to अ, for आग्, कर् could not possibly stand unsupported by something to stand on;
- (b) So far as Gujarātī is concerned, the अ, as an evolute of इ, really comes through य (लघुप्रयत्न) which is the intermediate step; अग्नि-अक्खी-आंख्य; similarly आग् and then आग. This य is not quite worn out even now, and though invariably dropped in Surat and Broach Districts, it manifests itself in certain words like आंख्य, गांठ्य, वीर्य, जात्य⁶⁴ in Gujarāt proper.

63. "Essays on the Gaurian Languages," J. A. S. Beng, XLI, Part I, (1872 A. D.), 149-150.

64. This is treated of in a subsequent *utsarga* (see *Utsarga* III-(a)-2, *infra*).

Dr Hoernle feels the inherent weakness of his position when assailed by the metrical test, and anticipating it, he disposes of it cleverly. He says —
Dr Hoernle conscious of the weakness of his position, his unconvinced disposal of the metrical test "In poetry, indeed, आग, कर and other nouns of the same nature are commonly treated as if terminating in अ (i. e. āga, kara, not as āg, kar.), but this is merely because according to the native grammatical system, the vowel अ is supposed to be inherent in every consonant."⁶⁵

Evidently Dr Hoernle puts the responsibility on the wrong shoulder, the native grammatical convention has nothing to do with the question here, for that convention affects single, isolated consonant letters which cannot possibly stand without the अ sounds, you cannot utter क्, ख्, ग् etc as they are, but must utter a small अ with them. There is no such inherent physical difficulty in the case of polysyllabic words, जान and the like, कान् can be pronounced easily. The fact that in poetry such words are treated as if ending in अ should really have made Dr. Hoernle pause, and, in the light of that fact, he should have examined his theory backwards. Such an examination would have disclosed the correct situation to him.

Mr J. D. Anderson, in his article on 'Mr Rabindranāth Tagore's Notes on Bengali Grammar,' (J. R. *Rabindranāth Tagore and Mr J. D. Anderson on the silent अ*, A. S. 1913 A. D., pp 55 ff) refers to Rabindranāth Tagore's remarks on this silent अ, which are to the effect that even with regard to words like *lalsī* (ललसी), *ghatkī* (घटकी) the rule does not apply when a Bengali is reading aloud (and especially, I might add, says Mr Anderson, when scanning verse). In both literary and colloquial Bengali the internal *a* is not muted in such words as जनन (janarata), वनवास (vana : isa) &c, although the first members of these compounds, jan, van, &c. are monosyllables when used separately. Rabindranath comes to the conclusion that

65. "Essay on the Gaurian Languages" J. A. S. Beng. XLI, Part I (1872 A. D.), 150.

- (1) in words recently borrowed from Sanskrit the internal અ is not muted, and
- (2) in words in common and vernacular use the change does occur.

It is enough if I point out that a portion of these observations is significant as against the silent અ, but the greater portion of them is erroneous; throughout the whole treatment of this question the element of accent and its shifting are ignored, and a want of accent is mistaken for લોપ of the vowel અ. I really doubt whether the great poet of Bengal will scan জন, વન as words of one *mātrā* each.

Several Gujarātī scholars have dealt with this unaccented અ, and, with one or two exceptions, they have not escaped this infection of the "silent અ" theory. The late Mādhavlāl H. Desai in his articles in the "Gujarāt Śālā Patra" adopted this view of a silent અ, so has Mr. Kamalāśankar P. Trivedī, his successor. Mr. Keśavalāl H. Dhruva originally accepted the same view, as is seen by the rules he framed about 1893 A.D. for the guidance of the compilers of a Gujarātī Dictionary which did not come into fruition. His Rule 4 runs thus:—

"Syllables containing a silent અ should be spelt with it; e. g. નરમાશ, કડવાસ, કલ્લાણ."⁶⁶

Later on, however, he seems to have revised his opinion, for in his paper⁶⁷ on વાઙ્મ્યાપાર (A. D. 1905) (pp. 9-10) we find him adopting a sound view. He says:—

"આપણા સ્વરોચ્ચારની સરલામળી ઇંગ્લીઝી ભાષાના સ્વરોચ્ચાર સાથે કરી વિશેષ રહી વૈજ્ઞાનિક વ્યાખ્યાનાં લેઈએ. આપણા અક્ષર બહુધા મધ્ય હયે અને પદ પદાંશને છેડે દ્રુત હયે ચોલાયડે. રમત એ પદમાં પહેલા ચે સ્વરોચ્ચાર મધ્ય

66. Paper on જોડણી (by me), Appendix x, "Report of the Transactions of the First Gujarātī Śāhitya Parishad.

67. "Report of the Transactions of the First Gujarātī Śāhitya Parishad.

લયના છે; પરંતુ પદાન્ત તક્કારમાંના સ્વરનો ઉચ્ચાર દ્રુત છે; તે દ્રુત લયે ચોલાય- છે તેથી તેને કેટલાક વિદ્વાનો સામાન્યતઃ મધ્યલયે ચોલાતા સ્વરોની અપેક્ષા શાન્ત કહે છે. સ્વર જે પ્રકૃતિએ ઉચ્ચાર્ય-ઉચ્ચારાત્મક જ છે તેને શાન્ત ઇટલે અનુચ્ચાર્ય કહેવો એ વસ્તુવ્યાપાત જેવું છે. આ અશાન્તિ ઉપજાવનાર દ્રુત લયે ચોલાતો અક્ષર ઇંગેજીમાં છે નહિ.”

In this short treatment Mr. Keśavalāl Dhruva has successfully concentrated one part of the case against the silent અ. What he has not touched is the factor of accent, or rather want of accent, affecting this sound and the consequent illusion. But he has fully emphasized the factor of દ્રુત utterance of the અ. He points out that the અ in Gujarātī is uttered in the મધ્યલય i. e. neither slow nor quick, but at the end of words or of portions of words it is uttered દ્રુત, quick; (here under પદાંશ, portions of words, may be indirectly perceived the factor of accent, though insufficiently); that this દ્રુત utterance leads certain scholars to call it silent relatively to the words uttered in the મધ્યલય; but that it is a contradiction in terms to call that a silent sound which, being a vowel, is in its very nature utterable. He adds that this quick અ is not known to the English language.

The late Navalarām Lakshmirām regards⁶⁸ only the final અ not as silent, but as good as dropped and says the consonant before this અ is virtually uttered without the અ. This view steers clear of the contradiction involved in the expression ‘silent,’ yet it errs in one particular, viz. in regarding the અ as dropped, not uttered. Kāvī Narmadāsankar⁶⁹ regards the અ in the second syllable of a word (be it a final syllable or non-final) as measuring more than a consonant in time. taking a consonant as of $\frac{1}{2}$ mātrā and such a vowel as of $\frac{3}{4}$ mātrā. This appreciation of mātrā-value

68. *Navala Granthāvalī, Part III, P. 13.*

69. *Narma Kośa, Mukha-Mudrā. P. ૭-(૫).*

is fairly near the mark the अ, not being silent, yet quick like, may be given more than $\frac{1}{2}$ and less than one *matrī*. Neither Navalarim nor Narmadaśankar perceives the influence of accent, or want of accent in this problem

Let us return from this rather lengthy but important digression and resume the original question of the ओ उ and अ endings. The *utsarga* regarding these endings prevails also in Marathi and Hindi with this slight difference that in Marathi the masculine ending is आ and the neuter ending is ए (for the Gujarati ओ and उ respectively) and in Hindi the ending is आ for masculine as well as neuter nouns—only in Braja Hindi the endings are ओ and sometimes औ (Of course the other ending अ is also found in M as well as H). For example—M घोड़ा, आवा, घड़ा &c (masculine), केल, सोन etc (neuter). H घोड़ा, घड़ा (masculine), सोना (neuter) also खटो=(G खाटु), राधे तेरो मरुखन खटो है, बड़ो—"कृष्ण बड़ो यजमान, हमारो कृष्ण बड़ो यजमान" (masc), Braja विचार किरी (Extract at P. 123 of Dr Bhindarkar's Philological Lectures).

[So far, then, this *utsarga* would fall under Class B (*utsargas* shared with other vernaculars), but with a slight variation. However, as ओ and उ are a feature prominently distinctive of Gujarātī I have preferred to put this *utsarga* under Class A (*Utsargas* peculiar to Gujarātī only)]

The आ ending is the result of क (अक) taking the form अभ *Apabhramśa* has this आ also (Si-He-VIII-iv-329) —

(1) दोहा सामला धन चदावणी।
 (2) मा कर दीहा माणु।
 The आ ending anticipated in *Apabhramśa* are instances. The second instance gives the आ in दीहा and उ in माणु

Thus the process which reduces अभ to आ is really anticipated in the *Apabhramśa* stage.

Perhaps the truest explanation of the आ ending proceeding

Dr. Bhândarkar's explanation of the ending; the truest explanation.

from अक is that given by Dr. Sir R. G. Bhândarkar in his Lectures Pp. 152-156. It may be summarized thus:—

When a final vowel is preceded by a vowel, the first vowel is accented and consequently it is lengthened and the final vowel dropped; e. g. मौक्तिकं-मोक्तिअं-मोती &c. (See the *utsarga* about this treated by me *infra*, Lecture IV, section II *utsarga* 19). When the first vowel in the final स्वरयुग्म is अ, the same principle works and अओ-अउ result in आ, घोड़ओ-घोड़उ-घोड़ा (M.).

I am inclined to make a slight variation in Dr. Bhândarkar's analysis of this phenomenon yielding the आ ending. He puts the lengthening of the अ first and the dropping of the उ afterwards.

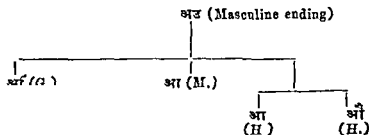
A slight modification of his analysis suggested. I would reverse the order; the उ is dropped first and the अ is lengthened in consequence of the dropping of the final vowel, the object being to preserve the quantity, a principle at work in phonetic changes in similar conditions in other cases, e. g. on the simplification of conjuncts, weakening of the *anusrūpa*, and the like the preceding vowel is lengthened to preserve the quantity (कम्म-काम; सिंचइ-सींचे etc.).

मौक्तिकं	(Skr)	मोक्तिउ	(Ap.)	मोती	(G.)
पानीयं	„	पानिउ	„	पाणी	„
लोहितं	„	लोहिउ	„	लोही	„

and many such instances support this principle.

The principle of बीजलाघव secured in the analysis suggested by me.

This analysis secures बीजलाघव, whereas that giving अक-अअ-आ does not secure it as there will be two बीजs, अउ, अअ. Thus—



(Hindi, it will be seen agrees with M in the आ ending and very nearly agrees with G. in the औ ending which is really pronounced as औ very nearly).

It will be seen from the above diagram that we discover here a common factor (अउ) in all the evolutions (ओ-आ-औ), whereas if अअ were accepted as the precursor of आ, there would be no common factor and अअ would partly cover M and H (one phase only) and अउ would cover G and H (the other phase). Thus Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi in the matter of these forms, would be etymologically incommensurable so to put it.

[It will be observed that this is not an attempt to bring under चीजलाघव the phenomenon artificially, but it is simply an act of discovering चीजलाघव in principles which are found at work independently.]

I have mentioned the अअ principle as the precursor of the आ ending, not because I accept it, but simply as it is advanced by certain scholars as a tentative solution.

However the strongest point against the अअ analysis is that अअ (from अक) cannot exist as such without the nominative singular case termination for the base words in the vernaculars are derived from the Sanskrit and Prākṛit words plus this case-termination. Consequently अअ must pass on to अओ अउ.

A closer analysis of the ओ stem will show that the word ending in ओ is really the form of nominative singular and it is by a constant habit, as it were that it has taken the place of a base-word. For just see घोडो turns the final ओ into आ in its inflectional forms घोडाने, घोडापी, घोडाउ, घोडामा घोडक (Slr), घोडउ (Pr), घोडो (G) -here the ऋ becomes उ through the elision of ऋ and the change of अ into उ thus retaining the nominative termination inherently. Before ने, पी, &c., it is not the अउ or ओ that is changed to आ but the true phonetic course is घोडक-घोडअ+ने पी etc and thus the अअ (without the nominative termination) becomes आ (घोडाने etc etc). घोडेपी need not present any difficulty, for it is the combination of the locative घोडे and the ablative termination, पी

(This आ, be it remembered, is not the stem आ of Marāṭhī and Hindī (घोड़ा) which, as just shown above, is from the nominative ending in अकः-अउ.)

It will be noticed that the उ ending of Apabhramśa turns to अ in Gujarāṭī (इत्थु, हाथ; कण्ठु, कान; &c.). There is however, only one exception, of a limited nature; प्रियः (Skr.), पियु (Ap), gives पियु as it is to Gujarāṭī, but it is entirely confined to poetry. I am inclined to regard it as a Hindī *tatsama* (to copy Dr. Tessori's happy method of nomenclature), i. e. पियु is taken bodily from Hindī poetry, without any further phonetic change. Gujarāṭī prose, much more the Gujarāṭī language of every day use, does not recognize such a word as पियु.

When we remember this evolution of the ओ ending, we can see why words ending in ओ, but borrowed from English cannot turn the ओ into आ before case-terminations. For example, the genitive of फोटो (photo), कोको (cocoa) and the like will be फोटोउं, कोकोउं &c. and not फोटोआउं, कोकोआउं &c., as some people ignorantly say. A small indication may be seen in the fact that the final ओ in the case of these words is not the अपर्यवृत्त ओ derived from an original अउ. जळोउं दु.ख आ तळावमां बहु छ; गळोउं सत्त्व तापनी उपर साउं,—in these cases also the reason why ओ is not changed to आ (जळाउं-गळाउं) is that their final ओ is not the अपर्यवृत्त ओ and it is not evolved from the अक ending; जलौका-जलोआ-जळो; गुहची-गलोई-गळो;—this course will explain the difference in results.

(The phenomenon of turning the suffix into a part of the stem is found in other languages also; e. g. Finnish turns the suffix s (equivalent to a definite article) into a part of the stem itself. See Sweet's History of Language, Temple Primer v. 118).

The only exception is found in monosyllabic words, like मी, प्हा (dawn) &c. which retain the आ unchanged before case terminations; मानी वात नथी (not मानी); प्हाउं not प्हाआउं.]

The M. ए ending is derived thus:—

कदलकं-कयलयं-कालयं-कोलयं-कोलें; i. e. the ए is derived from the अयं. Thus while अक gives to Gujarāṭī ओ-उं through अउ-अउं, it gives to Marāṭhī आ-ए through अउ and अयं; and to Hindī आ

through अउ. The आ comes straight from *Apabhramśa*, the अउ analysis being a feature behind the आ of *Apabhramśa* itself. It is curious that while Marāṭhī owes the आ to *Apabhramśa*, the ऐ must be referred to the main Prākṛit in अयं. (*Apabhramśa* would be अउं). Dr. Sir R. G. Bhīndārkar has shown lucidly this genesis of the ऐ ending at P. 157 of his *Lectures*.

[It may be observed incidentally that this ऐ in the nominative singular of neuter gender words in M. has an अर्धविवृत sound. Similarly the form of the plural number, neuter gender, of words ending in अ in M., also has the final ए अर्धविवृत; e. g. वक्रटकं-वक्रटयं-वांरुं (M.), फळ (sing.)-फळे (plur.). These are the only two types which furnish an exception to the general rule that M. does not possess the wide sound of अ and आ. This should be remembered when reading the discussion, already gone through, on the wide sound of ि and उ.

If I am right, modern writers of Marāṭhī literature, when representing the exact sound of this अ as put into the mouths of particular characters, e. g. women, use the symbol अयं (= अयँ) for अँ e. g. केळयं, गेलयं. A comparison of the sound of ए in क or गे with that of the ए in लें in these words will at once present the contrast between the initial ए, which is narrow, and the final ए, which is semi-wide.]

[It may be added that the अँ of the neut. plur. comes from Skr. आनि, Pr. आइ, while the अ of the nom. sing. (neuter) comes from the Skr. अकं, Pr. अयं; thus:—फळानि-फळाई-फळइं-फळयँ-फळे; कदलकं-केळयं-केळयँ-केळे.]

I have hitherto spoken of the ओ and उं endings of words in Gujarāṭī derived from Sanskrit and Prākṛit.

The ओ and उं and अ endings of words derived from Persian and Arabic, their genesis different from that of words derived from Sanskrit and Prākṛit.

There are, however, many words in Gujarāṭī derived from Persian which have the ओ and उ endings as also some which have the अ ending. The determining factor in their case cannot be the क termination, such a termination being foreign to Persian. In the case of such words the source of the endings is to be traced through the

Hindi ending, आ, which Urdu in its popular form has taken up, and the analogy of which has altered the Persian words ending in अह् give the ओ or उ ending, those ending in a consonant give the अ ending

Persian words ending in अह् take in Gujarati the ओ or उ ending (masculine and neuter, as the word may be used in Gujarati) while Persian words ending in a consonant take the अ ending in Gujarati

Examples —

ओ ending and उ ending —

Persian	Guj	Persian	Guj
पदेह्	पदो	मुदेह्	मदु ⁷⁰
प्यादेह्	प्यादु	खजानेह्	खजानो
महारेह्	महारु	खानेह्	खाउ
तेजानेह् ⁷¹	तेजानो	दीवानेह्	दीवानो
दगलेह्	डगलो	नामेह्	नामु ⁷²
बागचेह्	बागीचो	जनानेह्	जनानो
गालीचेह्	गलीचो	खरीतेह्	खरीतो
	गालीचो	जामेह्	जामो
रीशेह्	रेजो	दानेह्	दाणो
(= a piece; broken)		A. नवारेह्	} नगारं
कहवह्	कावो	P. नगारह्	
तकिपेह्	तकियो	आवखोरेह्	आवखोरो
शीशेह्	शीसो	प्यालेह्	प्यालो
हिस्सह्	हिस्सो	नजलेह्	नजलो
मोहलेह्	महेलो		
	महेलो	et cetera.	

70 This word cannot be traced direct from Skr मृत्कं-मडकं-मडु; for the final ड can be accounted for properly by the द in मुदेह्, this द may be allied to the द in Skr मृत्. This view is better than the one which would trace मडु thus—मृत्कक-मडक-मद-मडु.

71. तेजानेह्=a pungent thing that smarts on the tongue

72. If नामु is traced from नामक-नामव, this word will have to be excluded.

[NOTE—The अर्धविवृत sound of the ओ ending in these cases is due to the analogy of the words derived from Prākṛit, i. e. the *Apabhramṣa* अउ.]

कुशादेह has come almost⁷³ unchanged as कुशादे into Gujarātī, and may be regarded as a Persian तत्सम. The rarity of the use of this word explains the absence of the ओ ending.

In rare cases, a final अ in Persian gives the ओ ending in Gujarātī.

A final अ in Persian gives the ओ ending in Gujarātī, in rare instances, on the analogy of Urdu and Hindi words ending in अ and their sources

S.	G.
दाना	दानो(=wise)
दरिया	दरियो

[NOTE:—This is evidently due to the analogy with the Urdu ending आ in cases of Persian अई ending and consequent identification of the two. Similar misconception is at the root of the Persian अई turning into आ in Gujarātī; viz. that Urdu turns अई to आ and Hindi turns Skr. अ: to आ, and अई and अ. appear similar, therefore the misconception that all आ endings must be traced to अ: (even if अउ do not result) and ओ arrived at finally.]

A few Arabic words ending in अत् turn into words with an ओ ending in Gujarātī:—

A few Arabic words ending in अत् give the ओ ending in Gujarātī; sometimes a final ain gives the ending.

A.	G.
मोहावरत्	महावरो-म्हावरो
मुकाबलत्	मुकाबलो
मुबादलत्	मोबदलो

(M. मुबादल).

Sometimes a final "ain" (अय्न्) turns into ओ in Gujarātī.—

A.	G.
अख्तर'अ	अख्तरो

अ ending:—

73. "Almost"—because the ह is dropped.

14 P.	G.	P.	G.
मई	मरद	फर्क	फरक
दर्द	दरद	शूलवार्	सुरवाळ
रुमाळ्	रुमाल	फिक्क	फिकर
बाग्	बाग	विरंज (rice)	विरंज (a special preparation of rice)
		बादाम्	बदाम
अंजीर्	अंजीर	गुलकंद्	गुलकंद
गुलाब्	गुलाब	बर्फ	बरफ
गाग्रर्	गाजर	पेच्	पेच
मेख्	मेख	बुर्ज्	बुरज
खनसफ्	खनसफ	ताकीद्	ताकीद

(So also इनसाफ, दाद, इरखास्त, अदालत, वकील, वकालत, मारफत, सरच (सर्च), केफ, लाड, जान (=life) माळ, इरकत, लगाम; etc. etc.)

There are a few exceptions to the rule given about Persian words:-

A few exceptions to the rule about Persian words —

P. or A.

G.

1 मव्ज्

मोजो (=a wave)

2 बिस्तर्

बिस्त्रो

3 मुर्रेद्

जरा

Here 1 and 2, though not ending in अर् but in a consonant, yield words with an ओ ending in Gujarâtî, while No. 3, though ending in अर्द् yields not a word with an ओ ending, but one with an आ ending, the reason in this last case is that primarily the word is an indeclinable and then used as an adjective, but अविकारी adjective, i. e. one not subject to inflectional changes of the vowel ending.

P. पहल- G. प्हेल (=a facet of a prism) is a rare case of a word ending in उ changing into one with an अ ending. But no

74. The list that is covered by this heading contains several words of Arabic origin, but as they are to be found in Persian also, they are not discriminated separately.

separate rule is necessary for this, because it can come under the principle underlying the *utsarga* (to be dealt with just below), which notes the change of a final *अ* as also non-final *उ* of Skr. and Prāk. words into *अ* (e. g. मधु (Skr.-मध (G.)); विधु (Prāk.=without) -विण (G.) &ca.⁷⁵

[NOTE.—There is an *utsarga* about feminine nouns ending in *अ* in Gujarātī, but as it is shared by Gujarātī along with other languages, it will be dealt with under that class.]

UTSARGA III.

The change of non-final इ-उ to अ.

The *utsarga* is peculiar to Gujarātī alone; for where G. has कठण (Skr. कठिन) M. has कठीण,⁷⁶ H. has कठिन, where G. has माणस, (Skr. मानुष), M. has मानूस.⁷⁶ Other vernaculars also are unlike Gujarātī in this matter, for although stray instances of this change may be shown by them, the principle

Utsarga III. The change of non-final इ-उ to अ. It is a peculiar feature of Gujarātī.

75. I owe a great deal of the information about Persian and Arabic given in this treatment to Mr. Krishnalāl M. Javeri's paper contributed by him to the Third Gujarātī *Sāhitya Parishad*, entitled *बेटलाक फारसी शब्दों* (See the Report of the said *Parishad*); and to personal guidance by him.

76. Marāṭhī scholars insist on lengthening the इ and उ in such cases; but the very fact that in some cases the vowel उ (if not इ also) is changed to अ in inflected forms would show that the इ and उ should really be short. For instance, मानूस-माणसास (Accusative-Dative). Dr. Sir R. G. Bhindīrkar has an elaborate defence of the view (just dissented from by me) at Pp. 137-139 of his Lectures. The whole argument hinges on the theory that certain vowels are pronounced short or long, although they are the opposite in writing, e. g. in जोडा, मेळा, शेतास, हातास, कानास, &ca. the first vowel is pronounced short (as compared with the same vowel pronounced long in इत, मेळ, पोर, गोठ, हात, कान &ca.), and in गुण, गुळ, तिळ, रथ &ca. the first vowel, and in मदन the second vowel, is pronounced long (and so गूळ, तीळ &ca. is the Marāṭhī spelling). With due deference I submit that this ingenious contention can be met by the argument that the feeling of length or shortness is a mere *आभास* (an imaginary sensation) created by the presence or absence of accent, which is the real fact.

applies to Gujarâtî alone on a large scale ⁷⁷ A real test instance must therefore be taken, e g. the most commonly used root, मिद् (Skr.) gives मळ्ळ G, but has मिलना H, मीळणें M, and मिळ similarly in other languages. So also G. पडीहू (Skr. पुट्कं-पुटी), but H. and M. पुडी. For रद् M. as well as G. (also H.) have रड्⁷⁸ but it represents exceptional instances (cf. पुलन Konkani, पुलिन Skr.). It is this peculiar feature of Gujarâtî which gave rise to the laugh against the Gujarâtîs in the shape of the verse —

तुडसी तडसी जातो झुड्दोऽपि मकन्दः ।
गुर्जराणां मुखं प्राप्य शिवोऽपि शवतां गतः ॥

The *utsarga* now under consideration is only a part of a system of *utsargas* which may be conveniently grouped here —

It is a part of a system of five Utsargas These stated illustrated

(a) A final इ is changed to य,

(1) when preceded by a vowel,

(2) when preceded by a consonant

(b) In the case of (a)-(2) the य is lost leaving अ alone —

(1) in Surati Gujarâtî, invariably,

(2) in Gujarâtî proper, frequently,

77. The opposite tendency even in Mîravâdî which changes even the अ to इ (किवाड for कमाड, किन्या for कन्या, खिमा for समा (क्षमा), etc.) would further isolate Gujarâtî in this respect (See Dr Tessitori's "Notes" Chap I, P. 4, where this is noted as one of the chief characteristics of Mîravâdî.

(Indian Antiquary, April 1914, P. 55, last ten lines)

78. I do not derived रड् from रट् Skr for the obvious reason that the meaning is different, and the change of ट to अ is widely prevalent, and the change of ट् to ड् not unfrequent. रड् is found in *Apabhramśa*:

अम्मा लग्गा हुंरिहि पडिठ रडन्तड जाइ ! अम्माणि लग्गानि पडंते पडिको रडन् याति (S. He. VIII-iv 445, illustration) The *Dodhaka vritt* (a Sanskrit translation of *Apabhramśa* quotations in *Siddha Hemachandra*) renders रडन्तड by रट्न्. If रडन् is the correct rendering, the change of ट to अ (and of ट् to ड्) must be regarded as having begun earlier than this quotation. The *Dodhaka vritt* was written before V. S. 1672, the date given as that of copying it (or writing it?).

- (c) A non-final इ is changed to अ, when preceded by a consonant; and, in rare cases, to य,
 (d) A non-final इ is changed to य when not accented, and when it is preceded by a vowel,
 (e) A final as well as non-final उ is changed to अ, when preceded by a consonant.

Instances —

(a)-(1)-

	Shr.	Pr.	G.
इ changed to य when preceded by a vowel	गौ	गाई-गाइ ⁷⁹	गाय
	माता	माई-माइ ⁷⁹	माय
	करोति	करइ-करय्	करे
	भवति	होइ-हुवइ-हवइ	दयि
	कोऽपि	कोपि-कोइ	कोय (or कोइ also).

(a)-(2)-

	अक्षि	अक्खी अक्खि	आंख्य
Do, when preceded by a consonant.	ग्रन्थि	गंठी गंठि	गांठ्य
	रीतिः	direct	रीत्य
	वर्तिः	वट्टी वट्टि	वाट्य
	जाति.	direct	जात्य
		(deśya) छल्ली छलि	छाल्य &ca. &ca.

(b)-(1)-

In the above, the य dropped in Surati Gujarātī

In Surati Gujarātī the above-mentioned words would be आंख, गांठ, रीत, वाट, जात, छाल etc.

(b)-(2)-

	वल्ली	वेल्ली वेळि	वेळ
also frequently in Gujarātī proper	गाळी	गाळी	गाळ
	पाळी	पाळी	पाळ

79. Before becoming य the long ई must become short, or else the accent on it will bar the change to य

Wherever इ-उ, ई-ऊ are mentioned they must be understood to represent the lengths (short or long) belonging to them, तपरस्तत्काळ्य, the सञ्ज्ञा of Pāṇini's being accepted without the affix य्

वटिः	वडी	वड
वर्तरी	वत्तरी	वातर

(पाठ्य, केव्य are also used, and may be regarded as optional forms)

The *व* is lost *generally* when it is joined to इ, ए, ऐ, औ, with which it cannot be pronounced with ease

There are cases in which although joined to letters with which *व* could be pronounced with ease, it is lost —

कुश्चि	कुन्ची	कुख
भगिनी	वहिणी	वहन
गोणी	गोणी	गूण

(optionally गूण्य)

[NOTE — This लघुप्रत्यय यकार (आख्य, गान्ध, etc.) is specially

confined to Gujarati, Marathi, for instance, has
This vocal यकार is only in such places Further, the लघुप्रत्यय य
is confined to Guja is visible in the imperative second personal
in Marathi has singular of verbs ending in consonants in Guja
in the place rati -e g आख्य लख्य, etc. Surati Gujarati of course, drops it -
 आख, आद, लख etc. Compare the well known hit at this feature of
 Surati speech in Dalapatram Kavi's pointed lines beginning—जो नी
 पेडु छ छ यार, तापीनर ओरारे, जोनी &c. where he uses छे—राख for राख्य
 implying a pun on राख (=ashes)]

Non final इ is changed to अ

(c)	वटिम.	वटिणु	वठण
Non final इ चा जे	हरिण	हरिणु	हरण
to अ	आश्रय	अच्छरिञ्जु	अचरज
	हस्तिनी	हस्तिणी	हाथणी
	गर्भिणी	गर्भिणी	गाभणी
	दाढिम	दाढिछु	दाढम
	तिल	तिलु	तळ

સદૃશકં	સરિસં	સરસું ⁸⁰
વિનયકઃ	વિણઅડ	વનો ⁸¹
લિલ્લતિ	લિલ્લ	લલે (હે)
મિલતિ	મિલ્લ	મલે (હે)
ચિનોતિ	ચિણ્ડ	ચણે (હે)
વર્પતિ	વરિસડ	વરસે (હે)
વર્પઃ	વરિસ	વરસ
આદર્શકઃ	આઅરિસડ	આરસો
આદર્શઃ	આઅરિસ	આરસ
ઋણ	રિણ	રણ (in રણડોડ)
વિષમકં	વિસમડં	વસમું
વિકટકઃ	વિગટડ	વગડો ⁸²
વિમર્શનં	વિમાસથુ	વમાસળ
વાણિજ્યં	વાણિજી	વણજ
વિના	વિથુ	વળ
સ્થિતકઃ	થિયડ	થયો ⁸³
વિરૂપકઃ	વિરૂવડ-વિરૂવડ	વરપો
તૃપા	તરિસા	તરશ
તૃણક	તરિણડં	તરણું
વિક્રયકઃ	વિક્રઅડ	વવરો
ત્વરિતં	direct-તુરિત	તરત
નિપાનઃ	નિવાણ	નવાળ
(<i>Dīḡa</i>) વિટાલ		વડાલ
(") વિદ્યાળડં		વદાણું-વદાણું

80. સરસું=alongside, in close contact with. The meaning is evolved thus સદૃશ=alike, two things are *felt* alike when put together side by side, hence સરસું=side by side

81. "વનો વેરીને વણ કરેછે મન ય મોયો મોરે રે" Navalarām, *Bāla Garabārālī* P. 47, ('શિક્ષાસૂત્ર')

82. વગડો=a forest. The sense of વિગટ is modified to mean a "forest" just as મદન means firstly "difficult" and then "forest."

83. Kithirivādi has થિયો.

(*Dīḍya*) डडिदु

अडद

(") गिरिअडं (=अविशेषितं, unqualified) नयुं.

[NOTE:—This *utsarga* sometimes prevails in words derived from Persian; e. g. Per. बेचार (बे=not, without+चार=help; go)=helpless; G. बिचारो-बचारो.]

In consequence of the बहुलाधिकार this change is seen alternately also:—

बिना (Skr.)

विण and वण (G.)

आदर्शः (Skr.)

आरसो also आरीसो,

अरीसो

सदृशकं (Skr.) सरिकखंडं (Ap.), सरखुं, also सरीखुं. (G.)
(सरीखुं is confined to poetry).

Optionally with सरखे, we sometimes find सरीखे (in poetry only); e. g. ध्योम फरता वीर ते मुज रथ सरीसा सांकळ्या

(*Kusuma-mālā*; मेघ, st. 19. l. i. P. 90).

[NOTE:—The Persian (Arabic) word वगेरे gives वगेरे in Gujarāṭī. Those who write विगेरे do so through pure misapprehension as if वि were changed to व. They go on the false analogy of बिना (Skr.) which gives वना in G.,. Similarly वदाय is correct from the Persian, and विदाय is a wrong emendation.]

Non-final इ changed to य in rare cases:—

<i>In rare cases to य.</i>	Latest Ap. or old Guj.	Guj.
	किम	कयम
	जिम	जयम
	तिम	त्यम
	जिहां	जयहां (In poetry)
	जिह्वां	जयहां (")
	सिहां	कयहां (")
	(जय्हां, तय्हां, कय्हां	in prose)
जिवारइ	जिहारइ	जय्हारै
जिवारइ	विहारइ	कय्हारै
तिवारइ	तिहारइ	तय्हारै

पूर्णमा

पुण्णिमा

पूय्यम

नाभिः

नादी (+इ term.)

नाशदी (=the axle
of a wheel)

गोविन्दु (गोविन्दः Skr.)—गोव्यंद is found only in rare cases in Old Gujarātī literature; e. g.

(1) कृष्णरूपे गोकुलि अवतरियो
गोवरधन पर्वत करि धरियो
वरियु गोपी गोव्यंदो

(Padmanābha; a Ms., written in 1715 V. S.; Ohhaganlāl Vidyārām Rāval's article in the "Gujarātī" of 18th August 1911, reproduced in the *Gujarāt Śālā Patra*, XII, May number.)

(2) बालचरित्र गोव्यंद तणां

(*Hari-Līlā* of Bhīma Kavi, V. S. 1531,—Kāṭā XII, St. 1).

(Also in several other places in this same work).

प्रतिज्ञा (Skr.)—direct—प्रत्यज्ञा (in old Gujarātī literature; rare).

प्रत्यज्ञा पाळी आपणी

(*Hari-Līlā*, Kāṭā VIII, st. 59.)

For the nature of this य in प्रत्यज्ञा see *infra*, Lecture IV, Section II, *Utsarga XVIII*, Note (b).

[NOTE:—The large number of instances under this head, as also, in the case of non-final उ changed to अ Gujarātī, Marāṭhī and Hindi contrasted in the matter of the *utsarga* as specially peculiar to Gujarātī, this characteristic. This speciality is in contrast to Marāṭhī particularly and hence the Marāṭhī Brāhmaṇas had a fling at the Gujarātīs in the already quoted stanza, तुलसी तलसी जातः &c.. The peculiarity is foreign to the genius of Hindi, in spite of a few stray instances where इ is changed to अ. Thus परमाना, परवैया change the इ of परिक्व (परिक्व Skr.) to अ in Hindi; and Hindi has भक्त for विभूति; but words like मिलना, लिखना, &c. which are peculiarly Hindi in their retention of the इ, as also the reverse change of अ to इ in words like गिनना (H. for गण्)=to count, indicate the genius of Hindi in favour of इ. This is the case with Māravāḍī also where, as noted in the beginning of this

utsarga (see n. 77) the reverse process obtains. Thus this change of इ to अ (and उ to अ) is pre-eminently peculiar to Gujarāṭī against all other kindred vernaculars.]

(d) Non-final इ, unaccented and preceded by a vowel, is changed to अ.

Non-final इ, unaccented and preceded by a vowel, changed to अ.

This is the *utsarga* about *prati-samprasāraṇa* already stated in working out *UTSARGA I* above. I need not repeat the instances, कयिल,

पयइ &c..

[NOTE.—The अ in these *utsargas* represents अ+अ. How the अ comes in as an adventitious support is explained in an early part of this Lecture. See *supra*, P. 128 where the genesis of *prati-samprasāraṇa* is suggested.]

(e) A final उ is changed to अ.

Final उ changed to अ.

मधु-मध; मृत्तु-(मुत्तु)-मर्त्ति; तर्कु-तक्कू-ताक,
गुरु-गुरू (गुरु)-गर्गर; देवदारु-देवदारू रु०-देवदार;
विना-विण-विण-वण; etc. etc..

Non-final उ changed to अ.

	Skr.	Apabhr.	Guj.
Non-final उ changed to अ.	अगुरु.	अगुरु	अगर
	सुदगरकः	direct	मगदळियो (after व्यत्यय).
	लघुककं	लहुअउं (metathesis-दलुवउं)	दळउं
	आशुरकं (गई)	⁸⁴ सासुरखं (घर)	सासरं
	मातुषः	⁸⁵ माथुस	माणस
	त्वरितं	direct-तुरितं	सरत
	उपमासः	direct	अपवास

84 Cf. *Dēśi-Nāma Mālā*, VI 35 — पंधुचुहणी जा साम्राउ आगिअप वहु पडम. Here साम्राउ=आशुराव=आशुराद् गृहाव. Thus this लक्षणिक sense seems as old as Hcmaachandra for certain.

85. मनुष्यः would give मणुसो (see *S. It.* VIII-1-43). माथुस is from मातुषः-पिममाथुसेनिच्छोदगर (Illustration to *S. It.* VIII-iv-396)

स्मरति	सुमरइ	समरे (छे)
पुटं	पुहु	पड
पुदी	पुही (क termination added, and gender changed)	पहीछं
विशुस्तता	विजुलिआ	वीजळी
(Dāsya-विजुला Dēśi Nāma-Mālā III-24.)		
०पुटकं (एकपुटकं, द्विपुटकं, त्रिपुटकं etc.)	०वुडवं	०वडुं (एरुवडुं, येवडुं, तेपडुं, etc.)
आवुलकः	आवुलउ	आकळो
मकुणः	मकुणु ⁸⁶ मंडुणु	मांकण
सुवुटं	direct	सुगट
अङ्गुली	अंगुली	आंगळी
पङ्गुलकः	पंगुलउ	पांगळो
छनाति	छणइ	छणे (छे)
गुरुकः	गरुओ	गरवो
अतुलित	अतुलिअ	अतळी in अतळीबळ (Old Gujarātī poetry)
पृथग्	तुल्ले	रहमे
स्वदीयकं	तुहारवं	तहारं then रहारं
गुप्पदीयकं	तुझारवं	रहमारं
निरूपकः	निरूपउ विरुवउ	वरवो

86. मकुण (Pr.) is used in *Dēśi Nāma Mālā* I, 96, उहुतो अ मकुणप; and at IV, 14 we see मकुणप डंकुणेंडकुण. Thus मकुण and मकुण both must be alternative Pr. forms.

धुरकः	धुरद	धरो
धुरः	} धुरिआ	खरी
धुरिका		
	Dāśya उद्दि	अद्द
(")	जुअंजुअ	जुजवं

[NOTE:—In Prākṛit this change is noted in सुट्टलादिगण (*Si. III.*

This change traceable, in stray cases, to Prākṛit, Pālī and Sanskrit.

VIII-i-107) and optionally in धुरक (VIII-i-109). These are but limited instances, and do not mark the feature as characteristic of the language. Consequently this *utsarga* need not

be classed as an अउपूर्ति. All we should say is that the बीज-original principle-of our *utsarga* is to be traced in these cases of Prākṛit. Pālī has गर for धुर, so also in Sanskrit itself the comparative of धुर is गरीयम् and superlative गरिष्ठ; also the उ turns to अ in the abstract noun गरिमन्. This phonetic change is thus traceable in principle so far back.⁸⁷]

A few exceptions may be noted:—

<i>A few exceptions to the utsarga.</i>	रगइ	रगे (G.), not रे
	सणइ	सणे (G.), not सणे
	धुणइ	धुणे (G.), not घणे.

[This change in the case of non-final उ is peculiar to Gujarātī, and the remarks made on this feature regarding non-final इ apply to this also. Mr. Beames gives a few instances in Hindi e. g. बिजली, बुटम, सुरंग. But the same remark applies here that I made regarding इ, as to the genius of Hindi being against this change.]

[When a final उ is preceded by a vowel, it takes the usual *pratisamprasāraṇa*—

87. Dr. Bhāndārkar gives a fairly long list (P. 141 of his *Lectures*) of Gujarātī words presenting this feature of changing इ-उ to अ. I may only point out that चवा for चिवा, गण for गुण, लळसी for लुलसी, given in the list are forms confined to the language of villagers. अजवाबो given in the list is evidently a mistake for अजवाबु. I may also observe that, in view of the ancient origin of the tendency stated above, it is hardly correct to state that the Gujarātī people have acquired this habit owing to "careless pronunciation", as the learned doctor remarks.

तडागं	तडाउ	तलाउ	तयाउ
निर्वाहः	निवाहु	निहाउ	निभाउ
वल्लभः	वल्लहु	वदल्लउ	व्हालउ व्हालय व्हालम् वालम
[&ca. &ca.]			

Utsargas, the converse of (c) and (e).

There are two *utsargas*, which are the converse of (c) and (e) which may conveniently be noted here:—

(f) a non-final अ is sometimes changed to इ.

(g) a non-final अ is sometimes changed to उ.

Instances.

	Skr.	Pr. or Ap.	Guj.
Non final अ changed to इ.	(1). लवङ्ग	लवंगु	लरिंग
	(2). पञ्जर	पंजरु	पिंजर
			(only in दाडपिंज otherwise पांजर from पंजरउं.)
	(3). अष्टके	अंठके	ईंठे
	(4). प्रगल्ति	पगलइ	पिगळे (ठे)

(No. 4 is taken from Dr. Bhandarkar's Lectures, P. 148. He gives this and ईण्डे and says that Gujarātī has not many more such instances.)

In these cases the अ is changed to इ under a possible misapprehension that इ must be the correct original. This must be so undoubtedly in the case of (1) and (2) and the tendency thus created would account for the remaining two instances. Or, it may be that Sindhi and Hindi which exhibit this characteristic of changing the अ to इ (as Dr. Bhandarkar has shown, Lecture Pp. 147-148) as also Marāṭhī, may have influenced Gujarātī thus, but only to this limited extent.

There are other cases of the change of अ to इ in which, no

misapprehension but, a particular phonetic influence plays an active part. Such words are:—

Similar change due to phonetic influence.

Skr.	Pr. or Ap.	Guj.
सहचरी	सहयरी	सहियर
वनचर.	वणयरु	वणियर
		(=the civet-cat)
शलाका	सलाया-सलया	शळी
	सलिया	
	सलिआ	
एकादश	एगारह-अग्यारह	अगियार
	अगयार	
सलककं	सलयं	तळियं

The phonetic influence here consists of the weak (लघुप्रयत्न) य affecting its adjoining (preceding) अ so as to assimilate its स्थान to its own; just as a color-stuff that is not fast tinges the white surface about it with its own hue.

अगियार may be regarded as a case of स्वरभक्ति like हनियात्; (see Note A at the end of this Section), and in that case it may have to be excluded from the list. And yet, I should hesitate to do it, because, after all, the same principle operates in the case of अगियार, हनियात् as in that of वणियर, सहियर and the like.

(g) Non-final अ changed to उ.

Non final अ changed to उ.	तरङ्गः	तरंगु	तरंग ⁸⁸
	गणिका	direct	गुणका

The same kind of misapprehension plays part here as in the case of अ changed to इ in लयिग &c.

[This tendency is visible as far back as V.S. 1695 in which year was written *Karpūra-Manjavāi Chaupai* by Matasāra (a non-Jain) the first line whereof runs thus.—

⁸⁹प्रथम गुणपति वीर्यं गिरिपुत्र उदार ।

Here गणपति turns to गुणपति and गयरी to गिरि.]

88. तरंग=a fitful thought, fancy, as it resembles a wave of the sea; a wave of thought.

89. Mr. Chimanlal D. Dalal's Report on Mes in the Pātana Bhandār, P. 39.

Bhāṣa also discloses this feature in the word उल्लु for अल्लो (Skr. अल्लकः); see his *Kūdambarī*, *Kaṣṭat un VIII*, l. 10.

दा मोटे रंग्या नधी उल्लति ते ताहा चरण.

Note:—This feature finds scope in some words derived from Persian also:—

जवान

जुवान

जवानी

जुवानी

(These words do not come from Skr. युवन्, जोवन is, no doubt, derived from Skr. यौवन; but the words in point owe their form to the Persian source.)

UTSARGA IV

The verbal root-stem formation in Gujarātī.

Utsarga IV. The formation of the verbal root-stem in Gujarātī.

The verbal root-stem formation falls under several classes:—

(1) The form which comes direct from the root, Sanskr̥it or Prākṛit, (with phonetic changes where operative);

(2) The form which comes direct from the root, Sanskr̥it or Prākṛit, with the विकरण (conjugational sign) attached to it, (of course with phonetic changes where operative);

and (3) That which comes from the Sanskr̥it क्तान्त (past participial) form by a reflex action; (through phonetic changes).

Let us take up each of these classes:—

(1) These verb-stems are like वर, लय्, भरि etc; and we need not spend much time over this class. It may be pointed out, however, that the operation of *St. II. VIII-iv-239* and 240 (which give the आगम अ in front of every root ending in a consonant and optionally to all roots ending in any vowel except अ) opens a large field of Prākṛit

roots of the type of चर, पइ, भम्, इस्, कर, भर, etc., thus virtually doing away with all विकरणs other than that of the first conjugation,⁹⁰ except in cases specially mentioned in several *sūtras*, e. g. कृणइ (alternatively with करइ), चिणइ, लुणइ, सुणइ, धुणइ, etc.

- (2) These are roots generally of the 5th conjugation (धुविकरण) or some times of the 9th conjugation (भाविकरण); e. g. .

90. Is it under the influence of this rule that Śāstrī Vrajāll in his *Utsarga-Māla* P. 103 (A. D. 1870) makes a wide statement which (questionably) includes Sanskrit verbal forms? He says:—

संस्कृतभां कृधातुने वर्तमान काळना एक वचननो ति प्रत्यय लागेछे पछी वचमां आठमा गणनो उ विकरण प्रत्यय मूकतां करोति एवं रूप थायछे. वैयाकरणनो (? sic; वैयाकरणो) उ विकरणने गणकार्य गणीने कोइवार तेने अनित्य मानेछे एट्छे उ विकरण मूकता नथी अने पेहला गणना धारा प्रमाणे जेम भू धातुनुं भरति एवं क्रियापद कोछे एम कृ धातुनुं करति पण कोछे अने करति=करइ=करेछे एवा तेना अपभ्रंश पण साधेछे.

Similarly, on the same basis, he has रोषति, भेदति, छेदति for रुणदि (he gives रुणत्ति !), भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति. This is really difficult to swallow. In any case, the *sūtras* of Hēmachandra stated by me are quite enough to secure the Gujarātī roots. It was not necessary, for this purpose, to resort to questionable rules of Sanskrit grammar whose applicability, if at all, is very limited. For, it is in the interpretation of Pāṇini, III-i-79 तनादिकृञ्भ्यः that this question of the *ūlārana* being regarded as अनित्य (not invariable) is discussed by Nāgojibhatta; and perhaps Vrajāll Śāstrī had this in his mind. We need not go into this discussion needlessly; but the net result is that the mention of कृ specifically in the *sūtra* (although included in the तनादि *gana*) is to indicate the अनित्यत्व of the *rikarana*; (this would show that करति would be wrong, because कृ is specifically mentioned in the *sūtra*); that the object is to justify or defend occasional irregular forms like विशेद in “न विशेदविषस्तम्” and that the *Mahābhāṣya* disapproves the inclusion of कृ in this *sūtra* and विशेद would therefore be ungrammatical. If Vrajāll Śāstrī had taken the support of Vedic grammar, he could have based forms like भेदति &c. on Pāṇini III-i-85, व्यत्ययो बहुलम्. Perhaps the Prākṛit license in this respect is allied to this Vedic feature.

Skr.	Pr.	Guj.
चिनोति	चिणइ	चणे (चण्)
शृणोति	सृणइ	सुणे (सृण्)
जानाति	जाणइ	जाणे (जाण्)
धुनाति-धूनाति	धुणइ-धूणइ	धुणे-धूणे (धुण्-धूण्)
छनाति	छणइ	छणे (छण्)

[घू is transitive in Sanskrit but घूण (Guj.) is intransitive.]

It should be noted that this peculiarity of forming the vernacular root from the Sanskrit one with its विकरण attached to it, begins with Prākṛit itself. Perhaps the original process was nothing but the phonetic mutation of the full Sanskrit form i. e. चिनोति-चिणइ (न changed to ण), and the like. But there are two strong indications that चि+ण=चिण् came to be regarded as the root:—

- (a) चिनोति does not give चिणोइ, but चिणइ; i. e. the उ विकरण first sticks to the root, and turns into न in order to creat चिण as a root with the अ आगम;
- (b) The ण appendage sticks to the root in Prākṛit in forms which in Sanskrit do not require the उ or ना विकरण, e. g. जिणिऊण (=जित्वा).

See *St. III. VIII-iv-241* (Illustrations).

(3)—These are roots like the following:—

Skr. root	चान्त form	Pr.	Guj.	G. root.
पच्	पक्कं	पक्कं	पाक्कुं	पाक्
लग्	लग्गं	लग्गं	लाग्युं	लाग्
जि	जितकं	⁹¹ जितं	जीत्युं	जीत् ⁹¹
वि+इ	वीतकं	⁹¹ वीतं	वीत्युं	वीत् ⁹¹
टिड्	टिड्गं	टिड्गं	टीन्युं	टीन्
भञ्	भग्नकं	भग्नं	भाग्युं	भाग्
मुच्	मुक्कं	मुक्कं	मुक्कुं	मूर्

91. Although जीत्युं refers to the conquered object, जीत्तुं refers to the conquering subject.

प्राप्^{१२}

प्राप्तं

पत्त

१३ पद्वित्यु

पद्वि^{१४}

पद्वित्यु

The त remains unchanged abnormally in जित्त and वीत्त The sense of वीत्तक is "gone, passed off" (Cf वीतराग), but वीत्तु (G) means—"experienced, for, what has gone, passed (to a man) is a thing experienced by him ग्दने शु शु वीत्तु ते कष्ट ("I shall relate what has befallen me ") of आपवित्ती (one's own experience), परवित्ती (another's experience) Generally वीत्तु refers to unpleasant experience

92 Contrast पामत्तु (G) which is from the Skr root direct प्राप्ति, Pr. पावद्, H. पावना, M. पावणे, (व changed to म)—पामत्तु=to get पद्वित्यु=to reach The change in the root stem is associated with the change in the sense

93 पद्वि is not used as a root पद्वित्यु (although in use) is a link between पत्त and पद्वित्यु.

94. Mr. Beames (Vol I, Pp 276 and 343) traces H पद्वचना "to arrive from Skr प्रापूर्जन "visiting This is obviously an erroneous, and inexcusable, derivation the च and ण्य can never be connected mutually by phonetic affinity, to say nothing of other flaws in this derivation Mr Beames himself says (P 343)—"though I am not sure where the च comes from Well we know it comes from the त्य in पद्वित्यु (from पत्त) In Vol III, P 65 he is very nearly on the right track but just stops dead in the middle and does not proceed to the final goal He says—"Some light may perhaps be thrown on the subject by some stems in the moderns ending in च, for as ज arises from द्त्त्य, so च arises from द्त्त्य He then goes on to भेज from भेदयति, भेयते, and वज from वापते, and then there is no further progress If he had brought to aid the fact that some verbal stems arise from the past participial form,—a fact of which he is fully aware and which he claims as his own discovery and accuses Dr Hoernle for not acknowledging it though this is a matter which every thinker on the subject has discovered for himself, (Vol III, Pp 37-39)—he would have got the right scent and bagged the quarry Missing the scent he has not succeeded in getting out of the forest of confusion created by his own imagination in the face of a bewildering variety of forms पद्वच, पद्वछ, (H) पोद्वच, पोच (as he spells these, G) पूव, पुव (Māraṇīti), पद्वोते (G *Aalākhyāna*, Prémānand, quoted from by him—"नळ कहे मारदेने प वराण भाव न पद्वोते," *Kdrya Dohana* II, 74), S पद्वच्यु, पद्वोते The last form drives him to a wild guess, to him it looks 'as if it were from प्र+सृप्' (I), 'but, he lalts, "this will not

[दाझ can be traced in two ways —

(a) दग्धकं दद्वं दाधुं-दाध्युं

दाध्युं-दाझ

(b) दध्यते-दध्यइ दाझे (छे)-दाझ

If (a) is accepted the case will fall under class (3) if (b) is accepted it will fall under (1). I am inclined to favor the former analysis, (a), as the tendency in these forms is to form the root-stem through the कान्त by a reverse process; and also because दाधुं is visible in words like दाधारु (‘half burnt-like’, and hence ‘half mad’), besides, it has the analogy of लाधुं from लम् through लब्धकं, लद्वउ, लाध्युं, to support it]

[दग्धकं-yields another root in Gujarātī, by the process of ध्यत्यय, or transference of the aspirate, दग्धक-धग्गउ-धग्गु (G.), √धग्ग= to burn; e. g. धग्गधग्गतो अंगारो, धग्गो (Kāthiavādi)=दाध्यो, got burnt.]

Some scholars may see in this धग्गु an indication in favour of the theory that the parent Aryan Language had roots beginning with medial aspirates, धग्, ध्यग् &c. for the classical दद्, दध्य &c.. But, as I shall suggest later on (Lecture IV section II, footnote 17), the aspiration of the initial consonant is due to a different cause altogether.]

[Note -A special feature in these cases may be noticed The final य् in the Gujarati past participle is derived from the इत्त from account for the च'. For this he turns to an equally misdirected guidance (which he avowedly distrusts), and points to Dr Hoernle (Ind. Ant I, 358) deriving the word from the old H adverb एहु “near and कर “make , assuming a change of क into च, also the same learned doctor tracing of पुकार ' to call as the causal of पुग which he says must have been पुक anciently. Finally, Mr Beames returns to his own guess about शङ्खु “a guest (not ' visiting this time as in Vol I, 276) but again the difficulty confronts him as regards the च left unaccounted for पुगु (also used in G , especially in Kathiavādi) can be easily traced from प्कोय्, प्कोय् (also in use some times through an excessive desire to avoid villagers language which has च, ची, चे for च, की, के, cf दाध्यु from वाध्यु, वाध्य, वादियउ, वादितकं where the same kind of misapprehension plays a part), and then क being softened into ग-पूग्

क, i. e. क prefixed by the इ used for सेद् roots; the इत् becoming इअं in Prākṛit, then ^{१६}इयं (through इत्कं-इयं) in G. and यं. Thus लिमितकं-लिखियं-लिखियं-लखियं; etc.. In the case of अनिद् roots before क then, the य is added in Gujarātī on the mere analogy of its सेद् past participles. Hence come भायं, लायं &c. from such possible, but hypothetical, forms as भगियं, लगियं; (भागियं, लागियं would be permissibly used in Gujarātī poetry). This is the origin of भाग् लाग् &c. being regarded as root-stems in Gujarātī, the य having eventually taken the place of past participial termination. This principle of adding य in अनिद् roots appears, as a rule, to obtain when the ending letter or the root is क्, ग्, त्, प्. (Cf. पायं, लायं, जीयं, लायं).

In Kāthiāvāḍa, or at least in the subdivision of it known as Sorāṭha, भायं, लायं, &c. (without the य) are used as past participles. And the people of that province push the practice too far when they use वायं for वायं; for वायं is from वादितकं, वादियं, वायं, वाज्यं (य^{१७} to ज), then ग्य being changed to ज्य generally by peasants, this ज्य is put under a reverse process under a misapprehension and we have वायं, -वाग्; thus वायं owes its य to the इअ termination, and it is not from any अनिद् condition as in भायं, लायं.

Similarly, as I have indicated in the last lecture in illustrating the principle of *False Analogy*, the Kāthiāvāḍis push their practice far in another direction by erroneously creating a root ऊम् from ऊयं under the misapprehension that it is a कान्त form of, a verb, whereas in fact it is from the adjective ऊर्ध्व; (S. II. VIII-ii-59). Only in one place do I find उम्भिय used by Hēmachandra (Kumārāpāla-Charita, VIII, 14), which may lend color to the idea

95. इयं still continues in poetry; e. g. बुद्धनो चदियो मीनो (Bhīmarao Bholanath, *Prithurāj Rāsd.*, VIII, 4.) घनतिमिरे नम घेरियं रे (Ibid, VIII, 12). This indicates the link between यं and the क termination.

96. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (P. 194 of his Lectures) believes ज is from ङ alone (वाजयति Skr. M. वाजयिणे) because (he says) probably dentals turn to palatals when followed by य (or व). I think the view is not quite correct, so far as वाज् is concerned at any rate.

that it has a verbal sense But the Sanskrit gloss gives ऊर्ध्व for it and not ऊर्ध्ववृत्त or the like which shows that no idea of activity is intended in उर्ध्व a form not given in *S. Hé* at all, which must be regarded therefore as a mere variation of उर्ध्व rendered necessary by the requirements of metrical composition. In any case Gujarati proper has ऊर्ध्व and never ऊर्ध्व, which sets all doubts at rest]

[Note -पाप्प is a verbal past participle from पक् (Skr. √पच), and the G √पाच is precipitated therefrom But there is an अनिद् form पाकु in Gujarati which has a mere adjectival sense, 'ripe', -not-'ripened' or 'cooked', with hardly any verbal idea in the form]

पद्चित्तु-The च of this root is seen in old works too, *Sāra Rasa* (V. S 1603) has the line -

बीजु खड रजુ દૂ વલી । જે છળતા પુહુચદ મન રલી ॥

This will indicate that the principle of adding ય્ in the તાન્ત forms, even when अनिद्, was anterior to the 17th Century of the Vikrama era for the च could only be formed if रय had existed in पद्चित्तु (not पद्हित) It can be taken to a period still earlier, for *Kanlāde Prabandha* II, 99 has સાદિ ચરત વાવરતા પુહુચદ કળતળા કોઝાર, and this *Prabandha* was composed in V S 1512

There are some words like મૂલ્યો, ચૂસ્યો, ચમક્યો etc, which come from *Dedya*, મૂલ્યો which is not quite a verb, more an adjective, ચુકિઓ also similar ચમકિઓ from Skr चमकृत, which all may be given under this *utsarga* as they yield the root-stems મૂલ્ ચૂક્, ચમક્

સક (from Skr शुष्+त्त=शुष्क) is not used in Gujarati as an active root but સકા (શુ)-'to be dried' is used passively Evidently, સક as an active root has disappeared, though at some older time it must have been in use, as there is also a causal form still in use, સકવ (શુ)=to cause to dry

Mr Beames thinks (Vol III P 37) that verbs which create in the vernacular roots from the Sanskrit and Prakrit તાન્ત forms

are such as express positions of the body, states or conditions whether material or mental, and the possession of qualities. This description is so extensive and inclusive that very few verbs would be left out. Any how, it is no use examining the value of this statement, though this much may be suggested that the physical nature of the conjunct formed by the क termination has more to do with this kind of root-formation than the particular sense of the verb.

[I have treated this *utsarga* as one peculiar to Gujarâtî, although Marâṭhî and Hindî exhibit a similar tendency, for only some of the roots above indicated are so treated by these languages. However, I should not seriously object to transfer this *utsarga* from this class A to class C.]

UTSARGA V.

The corpus of the Gujarâtî Verbal Root:—Its Formation:

The Gujarâtî verbal root forms its *corpus* in three different ways:—

(क) By adopting the Sanskrit root as it is, or through Prakrit or otherwise, with phonetic variations so slight that the kinship with the Sanskrit origin does not disappear;

(ख) (1) By co-alescing the Sanskrit root with some prefix (*upāsarga*) or a dependent word in so complete a manner, as to create a new root-*corpus* altogether;

(2) By reducing the Sanskrit root to a form smaller than the original, and quite altered;

and (ग) By turning nouns (and some times adjectives) into verbal roots, without any appreciable alteration.

To take up these classes one by one:—Under (क) will come all the roots included in class (1) of the last *utsarga* (*Utsarga IV*). I need not repeat them here. But certain roots coming under this class require special notice. These are:—Roots of the type of कहे, रहे, रहे, रहे, &c. The question about this type is—what should be regarded as the root portion of a Gujarâtî verb? There are three courses open to us:—

- (1) Take the imperative 2nd person singular, form as the root,
- (2) Take the past participial form minus the ય termination as the root

and (3) Take the portion to which the potential passive participial termination અનુ is applied as the root

As regards (1) there is the difficulty presented by the ય in the imperative second person singular form લખ્ય આવ્ય &c. can not be accepted bodily as the root. Writers of Gujarati grammar under the influence of immature conditions created by the Educational Department during its early efforts ignored this ય and adopted this form as the root લખ આવ, &c. Even then they forgot that લખ આવ &c. could be accepted as roots and not લખ આવ &c. for purposes of securing other conjugational forms e.g. લખે લખ્યે, can come from લખ્+એ લખ્+યુ, if લખ were taken a fresh rule would be necessary declaring that the final અ of the root is dropped before such terminations. There would be no harm in that, for if લખ્ were regarded as a root then in the cases of terminations like શે (future third person) it would be necessary to frame a rule that અ is added as an અગમ before such terminations. Such methods are necessary in grammatical constructions, and we must adopt a course which has the least inconvenience and which minimizes the difficulties of hard cases.

As regards (2) લખ્ય આવ્ય લેખ્ય &c. will under this method, give the proper roots લખ્ આવ્ લેખ્ but in the case of forms like કહ્યુ, રહ્યુ etc. the roots yielded would be કહ્, રહ્ et cet, which would require special rules for making forms like કહેહે, કહેશે, કહેતો કહેવું etc.

The third course (3) presents the easiest solution. It practically agrees with the first course if the ય of the termination were knocked off. This third course will give us the type represented by લખ્, લેખ્ &c., as well as the type represented by કહે રહે &c. For લખ્યુ minus અનુ=લખ્, and કહેવું minus અનુ=કહે (The અ of અનુ would naturally disappear after the એ of કહે under the usual sandh rules.)

I therefore accept क्हे, स्हे, व्हे, as the type of the root I put them under class (क), in spite of the phonetic changes, because these are not such as to transform them beyond recognition and sever the kinship with the original Sanskrit roots

[Note -Persons wedded to the present day system created by the Educational Department, will prefer क हे छे, स हे छे, &ca., but the fact is that the अ in क स, &ca here is not pronounced full as that in the ल, क &ca of लखेछे, पखेछे &ca in fact it is lost by the process-कद्-कद्अद्-कद्अद्-कद् Of course those who prefer कहेछे are forced into pronouncing this type artificially by sounding the अ in क in full measure, which, however, is not true to facts]

Now, another type of roots —पी खा, ^{१७}धा, जा, जो, दे and the like must be classed in this class for पिच्, खाच्, स्था या, जो ^{१८}(Pr. or Dêśya), दा etc are not distant from these Gujarati evolutes Nor would पीछुं, खाघु, दीघु justify us in putting their roots in class (3) of the last *utsarga*, for the correct principle governing that class is that the चान्त form should be such as to transfer some part of the च termination into the root stem as in जीच् (जीर्यु, जितउ), or in ष्दाच् (ष्दाच्यु, ष्दाच्यु, पत्तउ) or it should be such as to give to the stem a change due to the च termination, as in लग् (लग्-लग्अ-लग्अक) etc

Finally ^{१९}हो (=to be) should be put under this class It

97 था has थतुं, but थ is not taken as a root, because थतुं is even now found in vogue in Kithiivāla and furnishes a working basis for detaching था as the root

98 Dr Tessitori derives जो from जुच् conjecturally (See his 'Notes § 137, (2)) जुच्—घोष्यते—जोद्ज्जद् घ तितक—जाद्मर्त—जेद्दं—जोत्तुं—जो (G) these are plausible steps It is equally open to us to substitute जुच् for जुच् All the same the derivation must be left in the state of conjecture

99 The change of sense is remarkable सू (Skr) means 'to become but हो (G) means 'to be On the other hand स्था (Skr) = 'to stand, therefore it is like 'to be, but था (G) = 'to become हतुं is past participle of हो, from भूत्क (Pr हूदउ), but direct हतुं हूत्-हूत्-हतुं हतुं is also present participle from होतुं-(Pr) ० ह नाम होतु (हतुं) तथा

comes from भू (Skr.), हु-हो (Pr.). The change of भू to हु is so palpable that the link between भू and हो is not snapped.

I take up class (ख)—(1) now. This contains a markedly notable group of roots. Such are:—

येस्, पेस्, वेद्, पाम्, ष्ढिच्, सौप्, ऊङ्, बगद्, आप्, वेच्, सताव्, समञ्, सभर्, ष्ढर्, सृच्, आण्, आथम्, ऊग्.

It will be seen from the derivations noted below, that all these roots, originally composed (in Skr.) of the root plus an *upasarga* or prefix, have combined the two elements (Skr. root and prefix) so thoroughly as to constitute a compact single-shaped Gujarātī root.

Skr.	Pr.	Guj.
उपविशति	उवइसद्, वइसद्, बइसद्,	बैसे, $\sqrt{\text{बैस्}}$
प्रविशति	परइसद्	पैसे, $\sqrt{\text{पैस्}}$
विकिरति	विइरद् वइरद्	वेरे, $\sqrt{\text{वेर्}}$
प्राप्नोति	पावर पाँवइ, पामइ,	पामे $\sqrt{\text{पाम}}$
प्राप्तवः	पत्तवः पहुत्तवः,	पहुत्तवः, ष्ढत्पुं-ष्ढच्चुं, $\sqrt{\text{ष्ढच्चि}}.$

[NOTE:—पहुचइ (पहुचइ) noticed in the foregoing part of this Lecture (See P. 240 *supra*) as used in a seventeenth century work may lead one to think that पहुच् came by a process different from that of कान्त and the reverse process. But the च points to a त्य, which comes only from the कान्त in this case. It shows that this process of forming the root from the कान्त form began long before the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries of the Vikrama era.

The प्रयेप of हकार will be explained later on when dealing with the *utsarga* about हकार. It will suffice to add here that पत्तवः gets the ह with an added उ, for some unknown but conceivably euphonic reason, and so we get पहुत्तवः.]

समर्पयति	समप्पइ	सँवप्पइ,—सौपे, $\sqrt{\text{सौप्}}$
वसिष्ठति	वट्टइ	ऊठे, $\sqrt{\text{ऊठ्}}$
विषटति	विषइ	बिगटे (H.), बगटे; $\sqrt{\text{बगट्}}$

भाषातकः आयाअउ (Ap.) आयउ, आयो (then व्-आगम- comes in and so) आय्यो, न्आव्.

[Note:—I may simply mention the fanciful derivation of आव् (G.) from आ+अव् (to go), as obviously based on mere external similarity, without any warrant of actual use.

The व् *āgama* may at first seem imaginary, but the following instances will show its correctness:—

(१) प्रोतकं (Skr.), प्रोयउं (Ap.), प्रोयुं, परोयुं, (G.) परोय्युं, न्परोय् (=to thread a needle);—(Pārsis have पोयुं, पौयुं by dropping the र and not introducing the *āgama* व्);

The following quotations will be enlightening:—

(1) वाळज म्हाळं कुटिल कटाक्षे प्रोयुं

(Dayārām; *Garabī-Sangraha*, Gujarātī Press Edition; P. 197 Garabī 65, st. 2).

(2) रसिये वजाटी रंग वांसळी पांसळी म्हारी प्रोई

(Ibid, P. 214, Pada 102, st. 1).

(3) अणियाळी आंखे वाळम प्राण मारो प्रोयोळे

(Ibid, P. 172, Garabī 13, st. 1).

(4) माहारो प्राण तुमां प्रोवायो निशदिन रहेजो

(Ibid, P. 165, Garabī 3, st. 6).

(5) प्राण प्रोवायो छे तम तानमां चिहारीळाल.

(Ibid, P. 187, Garabī 17, st. 7).

In (4) and (5) the form is passive; प्रो+आ+यो give प्रोवायो व् coming as an आगम. Here comes a first indication of the व् in परोवउं. (परोय्युं-प्रोय्युं-प्रोयुं).

(२) निश्च्योतितकं (Skr.), निश्चोइअउं (Ap.), निश्चोय्युं (G.), न्निश्चोय्

(३) रीस, from रस्यति, is a noun; and रीसा is the passive form of the G. verb. The past participle is रीसायो. But we find in old works रीसाय्यो, रीसाय्युं with the व् *āgama*.—

(1) “म्हाळं माणकडूं रीसाय्युं रे सामळिया”

(जसोदानो विलाप in *Premānandani Prasādi* P. 30.)

(2) “रहे स्वामी रीसावना” (*Īśvara-virāha*, Murāri; *Dr. Kārya Dohana*, VI, 468.)

- (3) हूं ए रीसावूं पण मन नथी रीसावतूं जो,
माटे तमो थकी वदतां नथी पावतूं जो.

(Dayārām; *Garabī-Sangraha*, Gujarātī Press
Edition, P. 169, Garabī 6, st. 11.)

(Similarly कमाव्यो is used for कमायो by ordinary people sometimes.)

It may be noted that villagers say आयो for आव्यो; and very often the villagers' language is nearer the Prākṛit or Sāṅkṛit form than that of the city people.

Thus there is a fairly strong case for the derivation of आव given by me here. However there is one difficulty presented by an illustration in *Sī-Hī*. (I do not mean आइउ in the illustration to VIII-iv-432, and its r. l. आउइओ, which both can be somehow connected with आयातक; but) I mean the line अनउ करन्तहो पुरिसहो आवइ आवइ (अन्यायं दुर्यतः पुरुषस्य आपद् आगच्छति), illustration to VIII-iv-400. The distinct form आवइ here points to आव as an earlier root-stem formed somehow, and it may possibly smash the derivation given by me. I must leave it in this stage for others having an advantage over me to decide.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar derives आव from Skr. आगत, Pr. आभओ. (See his *Philological Lectures*, P. 126). Even this will require the introduction of the adventitious ए, though he does not speak of it.]

(a) विक्रीणाति, विक्रेइ, M.वीक(तो), वेचे(छे), √वेच्.

or (b) विक्रीतकं, विक्रियउं, वेच्युं—√वेच्.

[Sindhi has विकण as the root ((विकणथो=he sells.) It would, in that language, fall under class 2 of Utsarga IV].

It is not quite easy to decide which of the two methods of deriving should be preferred. There are arguments in favour of each, as also against. In (a) the च is possible because of the ए in के; but °क्रियउं-°क्रियुं-°क्युं would be stronger, as क्य is changed to च very easily. In (b) the root वेच्, precipitated from वेच्युं, does not present any feature taken from the क्त termination. On the whole I lean in favour of (a).

संतापयति	संतावेइ	सतावे	√सताव्
संयुध्यते	संयुज्झइ	समझे	√समज्

[Beames, I, 327 derives this from ध्यान (Skr.), ज्ञान (Pa. Pr.); it is on the face of it incorrect.]

Hindi समुझना furnishes a good indication (in the उ of मु) in favour of संयुज् being the true source. हमको क्या उचित करियो है सो लिखियो समुझाई (Mirā).

संस्मरति	संस्मरइ	सांभरे	√सांभर.
परिहितकं	परिदियउं	पदिरियउं (by व्यत्यय),—	
		पदियुं	√पदइ.
समाग्रा(समाजिग्रति)	समग्घइ	सर्वेग्घइ-सजंघइ—	
	सूघे	√सूघ्.	

[If सूघ (G) is to be derived from शिघ् (शिङ्घ) (Skr.) by change of इ to उ (Pr. सिंघइ-G. सूघे), then this derivation from समाग्रा must be given up. However I hesitate.)

आनयति	आणेइ	आणे	√आण्
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आथम्—अस्तमितः, अत्यमियो, आथम्यो. Here the चान्त form of इ (=to go) tacks on to itself the word अस्तम् which is really a separate word in the accusative case but loses that nature in transit, gets regarded as a prefix or rather as part of the whole root, and we have this curiously evolved root आथम्.

ऊग्—उग्रतः उगयो-ऊगियो-ऊग्यो. This shows how the root plus the *upasarga* merge into a new-formed Gujarāṭī root.

[विचिनोति विङ्णइ वीणे √वीण्—is an instance which falls under this class i. e. *utsarga* V, छ (1), as well as under class (2) *Utsarga* IV as it retains the विकरण and absorbs the *upasarga*.)

The co-alescing of the root with a dependent word is found in the case of लावयुं=to bring. It is compounded from ले and आवयुं-लेह, लह + आवयुं=लावयुं. This is clear when we compare लावयुं with H. लेभाना or ल्याना. This composition is proved by the peculiar

voice formation in the past tense in the case of લાવ, as contrasted with આણ્ (= *to bring* from આ+ની Skr) દુ પાઈ લાવ્યો, મેં પાઈ આણી, in the former the verb is in કર્તેરિ પ્રયોગ, although transitive and in the past tense (which is against the general rule viz that the past tense of transitive verbs is in કર્મણિ પ્રયોગ), while in the latter the verb આણી (past tense, transitive verb) is in કર્મણિ પ્રયોગ. The reason is obvious although લાવ is transitive, the component ળાવ is intransitive, and naturally this principal root decides the પ્રયોગ it should take. Marathi has આણ only, and not લાવ (for it has no root like લે=to take it has લે(णे)=to take). The result is that Marathi persons very often fail to perceive this distinction between લાવ and આણ and a male would say દુ ગારી લાવી છે! I have actually heard such expressions.

The contrast between the original Sanskrit forms and the final Gujarati root in the above instances will show at once how they justly fall under the description given for this class (સ)- (1).

Now, (સ)-(2) — Under this class, the root which attracts attention at once is that which would correspond to Skr. અસ (=to be), the root which gives છે (=is), we may call it સ્ for convenience.

The derivation of this verb has exercised scholars a great deal and no two scholars are agreed on the point. The following are representative views —

Dr Sir R G Bhandarkar derives this verb from આસ =to sit (His Lectures P 126) આસ્તે (Skr), અચ્છદ્ (Pr), -છદ્, -છે (G). However, later on at P. 273 he leaves the question open between અસ and આસ, giving the weight of probability to the latter (આસ). Although this view has two weak points (1) the change of meaning from 'to sit' to 'to be', and (2) the learned doctor's own indecision between the two competing derivations, yet it has some points in its favour, viz —

- (1) The formation of છ for સ્ recognized by Hemachandra in his *Sātra* ગમિષ્યમાસ છ VIII-iv-215
- (2) Of the various places in which in *Kumār-pāla-Charita* Hēmachandra uses this verb (as અચ્છદ્, અછદિ,

अच्छत्, अच्छत्, अच्छत्, अच्छत्), in two places the sense given in the gloss is that of स्था or वस् which may easily be equivalent to "to be", and in one place (VIII, 58) the gloss actually gives वस् as the equivalent, which is very near "to be."

However, against both these points there are considerations which weaken their force; thus, against (1) we have Kramadīśvara's derivation of अच्छत् from अस् (=to be). See *Sanḥṣṭa-sāra*, iv, 10 (referred to in Pischel § 480). And against (2) there is the view that after all Hémachandra's *Kūmarapāla-charita* is but a work designedly written to illustrate his own *sūtras*; the quotations therefore cannot have the same value as those taken from independent literature.

Dr. Tessitori (following Pischel) derives the verb from Skr. ऋच्छ्; ऋच्छति-अच्छत्. (See his "Notes" § 114). He refers to Pischel, §§ 57, 480. In a private letter to me dated 12th July 1916 he adheres to this etymology and says "अस्ति cannot give अच्छत्, but only अस्ति."—I may remark on this view that अस्ति, no doubt, would give अस्ति and not अच्छत्, but, as in the case of many Prākṛit roots, this one (अस्) may have been treated at some stage or other of the language under the unifying principle of reducing all roots with consonantal endings to the 1st conjugation, and thus we should start with अस्त्; then स् and स्¹⁰⁰ being phonetically allied (as in शस्त्-(G.) छम्हो, पठः (Skr.) छद्मो (Pr.), मच्छत् from मशक्. &c. where the श and प् must first pass through the स् phase (शपोः सः *St. III. VIII-i-260*), though not

100. Dr. Bhīndārkar has noted this phonetic change at Pp. 188-9 of his Lectures, also at P. 42 he notes the change of स् to स् in Pāli, but he regards this change as a direct one from स् and not through स् (which is the general substitute for स् and स् in Pāli), though I am inclined to think that स् first became स् and then स्, especially as the sound of स्, स्, स्, स्, in Pāli (as in certain Prākṛits) was not full शस्त्वं but अप्रशस्त्वं (See *infra utsarga* dealing with the Prākṛit sound of स्, स्, स्, स्).

given in the grammarians' works), अउइ and then अउइ also as will be shown below.

Then, the क of कच्छति would, in the ordinary course, be changed to रि, not to अ, under the general *Sūtra*, *St. Hē. VIII-i-140*, which admits of only five exceptions (*VIII-i-141*) of which कच्छ is not one. It would require some strong reasons, as of actual use in works or some special conditions, to take कच्छ out of the general rule.

Next, the change of meaning in the case of कच्छ involves too violent a twist, or rather too wide a jump, for ordinary rules of construction. For कच्छ, according to Pāṇini, is used in the sense of (1) to go, (2) to fail in faculties, and (3) to harden, stiffen, thicken; (गतीन्द्रियप्रलयमूर्तिभावेऽपु-*Dhātupāṭha*). The only sense out of these three that can, with some faint possibility, be taken as a start towards "to be" is "to go"; and even between this sense "to go" and the sense "to be" there is a long jump.

Weber (*Hāla* P. 41) derives अउइ from Skr. गच्छति. Beames (*Vol. III*, 181-2) gives several passages cited by Weber in support of this derivation:

अउइ वा चिउइ वा निसिएय वा उयइ

(*Bhāgaratī*, i, 411).

This is translated:—"Let him go, or stand, or sit down or rise."

This is an incorrect translation; निसिएय would be "let him lie down" (नि+शी=to lie down); and अउइ is not "let him go", but "let him sit down" from आसु=to sit (गमिष्यामासु छः of Hēmachandra cited by me before being the authority). Beames (*III*, 181-2) gives further quotations wherein अउइ shades off from "to stand" gradually into "to be" or very nearly "to be". In this connection the use of आसु-अउइ in Hēmachandra's *Kumār-pāla-Charita* pointed out by me above will be useful. There also आसु shades off into the sense of "to be" by easy gradations. I would add a further argument against Prof. Weber's derivation, and I find Mr. Beames points out the same difficulty; viz: the elision of an initial consonant (ग् of गच्छति) is not known except in rare

cases like आण् for जाण्. Mr. Beames says this same thing:—"The aphæresis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prākṛit it is confined almost entirely to the root ञ् (jāṇa) as in āndāsi-jāndāsi, ānavādi-ījāpayaṭi, &c. Also in uno=punah, and a few other words." (Vol. III, P. 183).

[आणवेदि is a wrong instance here, by the way; for the ञ् or its ज is not elided here but turned to ण् and then to ण, it is not from आजाणवेदि.

उण is recognised by Hc̣machandra in combinations like स उण apparently, for he does not cite उण by itself (see his gloss on *Si. Hc̣. VIII-i-177*); while आणासि for जानासि is an instance of dubious evidentiary value for where we find instances like तुज्झ ण आण दिअअं (*Śāṅkuntala*, III, 15) on the one hand, we have, on the other hand, instances like the following:—

अहं एव एदस्स दिअअं जाणामि मह एसो

(*Uttara-Rāma-Charita.*)

In fact पुनः by itself is changed to पुण् (See *Si. Hc̣. VIII-iv-426*, illustration) in Apabhramśa.

To the above instances may be added क उण from कः पुन',¹⁰¹ which eventually gives कवण in Apabhramśa shown by Hc̣machandra as a ready-made *ādeśa* for क' (*Si. Hc̣. VIII-iv-367*).

A little consideration will, however, furnish a rational explanation of this elision of an apparently initial consonant. Hc̣machandra, no doubt, in his gloss on VIII-i-177 says — कचिदादेरपि । सयुनः । सउण । सच । सो अ ॥ However, it seems that सउण,

101. Hc̣machandra gives it as an *ādeśa* of किन्. But evidently किन् represents the genderless base, and he gives काई and कवण as the two *ādeśas*, which, as the illustration shows, represent the neuter and non-neuter (i. e. feminine as also masculine) aspects respectively —

कवण वि एह न चित्तइ काई वि ज निच्चाणु

(*Kumārpaṇa Charita*, VIII, 30).

(कोऽपि एतद् न चिन्तयति न विचारयति । यत् किमिति किंवरूपे निर्वाणम्—Gloss by Hc̣machandra)

This will show that काई is neuter and कवण is masculine here (as it is feminine in the illustration to the *śūra*, कवण घण=का घृणा)

સોઝ, (કડળ), જ આળે (ન જાને), are such closely-knit expressions that they, as it were, symbolize a compact idea and this¹⁰² psychological aspect throws itself on to the physical formation of the words and gives them the appearance of single words, thus altering the initial position of the consonants in question into an uninitial one, and hence comes the elision. This view will explain the absence of elision when પુન, જાને &c are separately used and we have પુણ જાળે &c (See the instance of¹⁰³ જાળે quoted from *Uttara Rāma-charita* above)]

It would have been really easier for Prof. Weber to have derived અચ્છડ from આગચ્છડિ, instead of from ગચ્છડિ. The difficulty about the elision of ગ would have then disappeared, the ગ being regarded as uninitial in આગચ્છડિ we would get આઅચ્છડ, which would give આચ્છડ, અચ્છડ (Hemachandra gives આગમિઓ and આણમિઓ as alternative forms, VIII-1-177, gloss) Sindhi અચ્ (અચળો-અચળ) to come, is traceable to this evolute of આગચ્છ. The sense also "to come", would be nearer the sense of અસ્ "to be", than ગમ્ "to go". I suggest this as a mere hypothetical alternative, for this derivation is obviously rather laboured, both on the phonetic side and the side of its meaning. However, I must note here that in representing Prof. Weber's view I have entirely depended on Mr. Beames' work (Vol. III, Pp 181-192). On referring to Prof. Weber's *Hala* P. 41 I find no such references as are mentioned by Mr. Beames, while the only place I find where he suggests the derivation of અચ્છડિ from ગચ્છડિ is in the index of words, thus —

"*√accha, gam (?) 757*"

and the 757th *gūṭa* has સમચ્છડિ in such connection that it may

102 A similar psychological condition accounts for the working of *sandhi* in Gujarātī (which is rare) in words like ના-વો (=ન આવ્યો), નાળો (=ન આળો) and the like generally in poetry. The idea of negation is woven in with the idea of activity and the whole is a compact idea, hence the *sandhi* coalition.

103 If instances of જાળે (for જાળે) can be found, even when જાળે is an independent isolated word it must obviously be the result of false analogy taken from the જાળે in compact combinations.

have nothing to do with the sense of अस् = to be. The edition of *Hāla* I look into is that of 1881 A. D., whereas Mr. Beames' Vol. III bears the year 1879 A. D. It is just possible he referred to an earlier edition which contains all that he reproduces. I have not had access to it, unfortunately. But a closer examination of Weber's "*Hāla*" shows that Mr. Beames had this very edition before him. It is thus an unsolved mystery how Mr. Beames refers to quotations &c. not traceable in Weber's "*Hāla*."

Lassen, in his reference to Kramadīśvara's *Sankshipta-sāra* gives a different account of the root अच्. Mr. Beames refers to Lassen at P. 181, Vol. III. He tells us that Lassen quotes (P. 346) *Achchhai* &c. as fragments of a present tense, and (P. 266) seems to favour a derivation from *asti* (अस्ति) by inversion *atsi* (अत्ति), *ts* easily migrating into च्. Mr. Beames adds:—"But this will not account for the other persons of the tense." This objection of Mr. Beames is hardly sound. For very often roots are formed from a single original and then they start on their conjugational course on the basis of the newly derived root. Nothing would be more natural than अच् being formed from अस्ति,—the third personal singular form being the most familiar in use, and then for अच् being worked into other forms on the principle of simplification as I have pointed out before. (See Lecture III, Pp. 98-99.)

But the real objection to Lassen's conjectural derivation, to my mind, is quite different, and difficult to get over. अस्ति, by व्यत्यय, may give अत्ति, and this may turn into अच्चि. But for अच्चि to change into अच्च (which is the form most in use and originally employed) is to reverse the course of phonetic evolution. अच्चि, or rather अत्ति is no doubt found in use in later *Apabhramśa* literature. But it is evolved out of अच्च by the omission of the द्रुततर अ in च्. We must therefore first seek to account for अच्च as it stands. We shall see how this can be done, soon below.

I must just at present come to Mr. Beames' view of the matter. He enters into an elaborate discussion of this subject at Pp. 180 to 187 of his third volume. After stating and com-

menting on the views of Lassen and Weber he proposes अच् (Slr) = to appear (as he renders it) as the derivation of अच्. I shall examine his objections to the claims of अम् and his plea for अच्. First then Mr Beames contends that अच् given as an *adesa* of अम् by Vararuchi (Pr Prak XII 19) whose rule on this point appears to be the earliest does not necessarily represent a phonetic evolute of अम् he gives merely a popular equivalent of the classical word (अम्) just as he gives वृद् and खुप् (VIII 68? 69) as Prakrit substitutes for the Sanskrit मस् which cannot be on that ground alone be regarded as the evolutionary original of वृद् or खुप्. Well, I perfectly agree with the general principle indicated in this argument. It is only in the particular application of it that I venture to differ. For अच् and अम् are not as wide apart phonetically as वृद् and मस् or खुप् and मस्. In fact as I shall show below अच् is allied to अम् under recognised phonetic laws. The form in which Hemachandra gives अच् for आच् may be contrasted with that used by Vararuchi: the former says its final consonant is turned into छ whereas the latter says अम् is changed to अच् thus the former regards अच् as a phonetic evolute of आम् the latter as a compact substitute of अम् (which may be regarded as a phonetic substitute because of the phonetic affinity existing between the two). Hemachandra's गच्छ for गम् in VIII iv-215 (rather छ for म् in गम्) stands in pointed contrast with the numerous non phonetic substitutes of गम् in VIII iv-162 and आस् (when स् becomes छ under the former *sūtra*) is lumped with गम् and two other roots. The conclusion as regards अच् being regarded by Hemachandra as a phonetic evolute is irresistible. Vararuchi's case is dubious to say the least.

Secondly Mr Beames contends that Vararuchi gives अच् for some forms while he gives अत्ति for अस्ति (XII 20). I already answered this argument a little while ago when I said that the principle of simplification prevailed in this case. I there argued from अच्, derived from अस्ति, to अच्छामि, अच्छसि, &c. I am aware that Vararuchi's *sūtras* giving अच्छामि, अच्छसि &c. against अत्ति (not अच्छद्) for अस्ति would lead the argument the other

way; अच् in all forms first, and अत्ति in the 3rd personal singular alone, would show अच्छ् (अच्छति) as a subsequent adoption from अच्छामि &ca. on the basis of *analogy* and *simplification*, (see *supra* Lecture III, Pp. 98-99). Let it be so; (though I shall endeavour to show below that the principle worked in the opposite course, from अच्छ् to अच्छामि etc.). Any how it was, as Vararuchi shows, only one form अत्ति against अच्छ् in all other forms. The probability then would be that अच्छ् as a generally prevalent root was dominant and we have to see whether or not it was a phonetic evolute of अम्. (Of course, Vararuchi gives अच्छ् as prevalent in Śaurasṇi.)

It may be added that Section XII of *Prākṛita-Prakāśa* suffers in lucidity in consequence of the commentary by Dhāmaka on it being lost. There is a further vitiating element: Cowell (Page 184) regards sūtras 19, and 20 (which deal with these forms, अच्छामि &ca. and अत्ति) as conjectural. I note these handicapping elements as of some importance.

Thirdly, Mr. Beames states that we have the opinion of a high authority (presumably Prof. Weber's authority noticed above) for disputing the connection of अच्छ् with अम्.

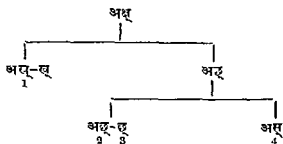
I have already disposed of Prof. Weber's contribution to this subject and I need not go into repetition. But until I secure the advantage of seeing the work quoted from by Mr. Beames, I must believe that no valid reasons are shown for disputing the phonetic relation between अच्छ् and अम्—a relation which is obvious to common observation. All I at present have is Mr. Beames' statement in one sentence:—

"Weber, Hāla P. 41, rejects, and with justice, the idea of any connection between the two words." (अच्छ् and अम्). I have already said, the edition of Weber's Hāla I have been able to see says nothing at P. 41, on this point. I must therefore wait till I secure the correct reference to see if the rejection is based on just grounds.

Lastly, Mr. Beames believes that अम् is a separate stem which has yielded ह् for its म् in the modern languages and this makes it

difficult for him to conceive by what process it could have become અચ્ઠ્ઠ. All I can say to this is that the change of સ્ to ઠ્ઠ is well known; in fact Mr. Beames himself recognises it (Vol. I, P. 261) in છ (six) from વપ્ (Skr.) (through વપ્-સપ્-), છટ્ટો from વપ્. (Skr.) through સપ્ટો. I shall soon indicate the definite conditions in which the સ્ of અસ્ appears to me to have changed to ઠ્ઠ. In these circumstances, I see no reason why one stem (અસ્) should be taken for આદે (M.) and (S.), હૈ (H.), and another (અઠ્ઠ) created for છે (G.), (B.) &ca..¹⁰⁴

Let us, however, examine the claims of અઠ્ઠ, on its own merits, for being the original of છે, &ca., as set forth by Mr. Beames. The negative ground that અસ્ is not satisfying as it cannot yield અઠ્ઠ, it can only give અઠ્, is disposed of just above. On that negative basis he goes in search of અઠ્ as satisfying all the various shapes it assumes in several modern languages; these are અઠ્ and અસ્ on the one hand (અસ્ coming through અઠ્) and અઠ્ on the other, (ઠ્ being the phonetical antecedent of ઠ્ as well ઠ્ in Prākṛit, *St. H.* VIII-iv-215; and ઠ્ that of સ્ particularly in M.). Thus the following diagram:—



104. Mr. Beames notices the negative combination ન+અસ્થિ resulting in G. નથી used indiscriminately for all persons, and (Vol III, Pp. 188-9) remarks—"This is a case of forgetfulness of the origin of a word leading to its use being extended to cases where it has no right to be, for નથી is clearly derived from અસ્થિ, the Pr. form of અસ્થિ, with ન prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing." True, but I would add that this forgetfulness began even before Hēma-chandra who (VIII-iii-148) gives અસ્થિ for all persons and numbers in the present tense.

will indicate a full account of all the modern languages under the principle of वीजलाघव. Mr. Beames finds No. 1 (ए) in the Bhojpuri (Vol. III, P. 186), No. 2-3 अद्-इ in the Oriya (अछि, अड्, अइ, अछ, अछन्त), Bangālī (आछि, आछिस, आछे, आछ, आछेन; छिउ, छिलि, छिल, छिलाम्, छिला, छिलेन्); in Maithila dialects (छ, ड, छे; छै; छी, छीं); in the dialects of Kumāon, Gārhwāl, and E. Rajputāna (छ, छौं &c.); and in Gujarātī (छ, छे, छे; छये, छो, छे; as he gives the forms);¹⁰⁰ and No. 4 (अम्) in M. असे, असस, अम्, असां, असत; असतो, असतोस, असतो; etc. etc. widely in this language.

As regards the meaning Mr. Beames relies on the word अक्षि (=the eye) as furnishing a possible basis for possessing the sense of "to see" or "to appear."

Now, this being the whole case in favour of अद्, the latter part relating to the meaning may be disposed of by the single answer that the meaning "to see" or "to appear" is, in fact, a mere unfounded guess, the only meaning given to अद् in Sanskrit being "to reach, to prevail", as Mr. Beames himself admits it (Vol. III, P. 183.). M. Williams regards अद् as not an original root but probably an old desiderative of अम् (=to be). He derives अक्षि from अम् (=to be) or suggests अद् with a queri. Obviously अद् (=to be clear, manifest) would be preferable. Cf. *Nirukta*, I, 9 which says:-अक्षि चोदरनकेरित्यायायणस्तस्मादेतं व्यक्ततरे भवत इति ह निहायते! Thus Yāska would derive अक्षि from चद् (=to see, to tell) but evidently it is far-fetched, the elision of the च् of चद् in Sanskrit being inexplicable. May it be that Yāska had चद्म in view? The derivation attributed by the *Niruktakāra* to Āgrīyaṇa, viz: that from अद्, would seem preferable; though I should think व्यक्ततरे भवतः (become clearer) should give place to some such sense as in जगद् व्यक्तं कुरुतः (make the world clear, manifest). And after all, it may be asked, why all this trouble? For अद् and

105. Kāśhmīrī also shows this छ —

छम् (am) Maso. छेम् (am) fem.

छम् (art) " छेम् (art) "

छद् (is) " छेद् (is) " (Vide Grierson's Manual of Kāśhmīrī Language, Vol. I, P. 44.)

अम् can be had from अम् as well; is it only for the ए in Bhojpuri? Let us see how Bhojpuri helps the case. Sir George Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V Part II gives various forms for the verb representing "to be" in several dialects of Bhojapuri under the Standard List of Words and sentences which contains:-

हाइ; बाना = am; दादी = am;

हावा, हावस, हउआउ = (thou) art;

पा, हावस, हउ = is;

and the like, but खे is not found there at all. The Skeleton Grammar given for Bhojpuri (Pp. 50-58) is equally silent as regards खे. Only in the specimen passages I find the following:-

(1) होले = "may be" (Pp. 206-207)

or "to be" (p. 187).

(2) आ एलायक नइखी (P. 232).

(3) राउर घेटा कहावे लायक नइखी (P. 220)

(4) राउर छरिका कहावे जुहुर नइखी (P. 195)

(5) राउर छरिका कहावे जोग नइखी (P. 206)

(P. 187)

Now, होखे in (1) would clearly show that it is based on the root हो from भू and खे must represent some termination; while नइखी is a negation-mixed form like नधी in Gujarātī (नास्ति Skr., नत्थि Pr.). The relation between थ and ख may be unknown yet, but I believe it is likely to be discovered, for I know of a man with defective vocality saying बखी जोइतुं (don't want) for नधी जोइतुं. This would indicate the direction in which vocal defect can go in these conditions, and Bhojpuri speech may easily be conceived to have moved along that groove, only in this single form नइखी. Mr. Beames' assertion about the खे is also rather feeble: "In Bhojpuri, for the present is often heard खे, which is unchanged throughout both persons." He calls this a "widely used" form, but gives not a single instance, so that we are left without guidance. And the guidance we get from the Linguistic Survey of India tells a different tale altogether. In these circumstances, the case for खे collapses under the double weight of the various forms quoted

above (which do not include र), and of the fact that where र is seen it is either traceable to a different termination tacked on to हो (भू), or to the compact form नत्थि .¹⁰⁰

Thus, the only factor (र) on which the case for अर was based having disappeared, the remainder, र (the original of र M. and र G. \& ca.), need not depend on अर as the root, for it can as well and better stand on the foundation of अस् "to be" or आस् "to sit" (by gradual change = "to be").

We have thus to choose between आस् ("to sit") and अस् ("to be") as the original of रे (र). I shall now give my conclusion in this matter, giving reasons as briefly as I can. Well, then, the position is this. leaving aside as a rare phenomenon, the form नत्थि shown by Hemachandra (VIII-iii-148) as indiscriminately used for all persons and numbers of the present tense, we are faced by the undoubted and widely prevalent forms of अच्छ (अच्छामि , अच्छसि and also अच्छति , अच्छद्) in Prākrit , Pāli and Apabhramśa . This अच्छ is accounted for, on the one hand, by Hemachandra as an *ādīśa* (but certainly a phonetic *ādīśa*) of आस् (=to sit), (VIII iv-215), and, on the other hand, by Kramadīśvara as a phonetic *ādīśa* of अस् (=to be), (*Saṅkṣipta-sāra*, iv, 10 as referred to in Pischel §480). Hemachandra flourished during V. S. 1141-1228 while Kramadīśvara is placed during 1200-1250 A. D. (= V. S. 1256-1306), (Vide Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar", Chronological Conspectus).

100. I make these observations under certain disadvantages and consequently with clear reservations and an openness to conviction if my contention is proved wrong. For I am not in personal touch with Bhojpurī , Mr. Deanes has cited no concrete instances, and I have to depend upon the Linguistic Survey of India which work, in spite of its great merits, is liable to err occasionally as I find for certain with regard to my mother tongue, Gujarātī . Nevertheless the fact remains that against the single case of र occasionally seen in Bhojpurī , there is a large phalanx of forms with र in that and all other languages, and we need not, only for the sake of the isolated र , stray away from अस् and seek the dubious support of अर with an imaginary meaning.

Thus Hemachandra and Kramadīśvara separated by a century from each other, ascribed अच्च् to different sources, the former to आम्, the latter to अम्. Whom should we follow? Let us examine the *pros* and *cons* of each. The points in favour of आम् (=to sit) are as under —

- (1) Pāli the oldest vernacular has अञ्जति used in such context as to justify the case for आम्. Thus वृण्ही अञ्जन्ति = 'They sit silent', (*Jātaka* 48), fits in with the sense of आम्, "to sit," much better than the sense of अम्, "to be," वृण्णीमान्ते (sits silent) makes proper idiomatic sense, वृण्णीमस्ति (is silent) would not make much sense, it would certainly be clumsy. Childers' derivation of अञ्जति in his *Pāli Dictionary* from अस् to sit, has thus a good case. Under समञ्जति (सम्+आम्) also he cites वृण्ही समञ्जिणे, "they sit down in silence" (*Jātaka* 48), which is explained वृण्ही हुत्वा निपीदन्तीति वुत्त होति which further supports the derivation from आम्. The *Jātaka* date before 300 B.C. (*Buddhism, its History and Literature*, Rhys Davids, P. 78.)
- (2) Hemachandra favours आम् in his *sūtra*, गमिष्यमासाः, already referred to. His *Kumārāpālācharita* abounds in instances of अच्च्, in senses which vary from the sense, 'to sit,' to the sense, 'to be' as has been noted by me before.

The points in favour of अम् (to be) are these —

- (1) Vararuchi (who may be placed about 350 B.C., his other name being Katyayana, vide Dr. Belvalkar's "Systems of Sanskrit Grammar," Chronological Conspectus)¹⁰ is distinctly in favour of अम् (to be) as we have seen.

107 About the identity of Katyayana and Vararuchi, and the date, see Weber's *History of Indian Literature* (3rd Edition), Pp. 222-223, and Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (Edition by the Asiatic Office, Allahabad), Pp. 123-128. The former seems to favour the date 350 B.C., while the latter places Katyayana Vararuchi in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (which is approximately

- (2) Kramadīśvara (*Saṅkṣipta sūtra*, 14-15) favours अम् (to be),
 (3) Markandeya (*Prakṛitāsartasā* VII-116) distinctly accepts अम् and has no *ād śa* for आम्. His words are अस्तेरच्छ (A *trilā*) स्यात् अच्छइ। अरिथ इति ससृतात् (*Vṛtti*)

[Markandeya quotes from *Prakṛita Pingala* (see xvii-8 and 9, for instance) and *Prakṛita Pingala* is believed to belong to the fourteenth century or after. Unless his quotations are from folk lore independently of *Prakṛita Pingala* this would place Markandeya somewhere after the 14th Century A D. Sir George Grierson (J R A S 1913, P 391) states that Markandeya appears to have lived in the middle of the seventeenth century and refers to Pischel, *Pr Gr* § 40. But I am afraid there is some error here in relying on Pischel. I read the passage, *Pr Gr* § 40, with Rev. Father Zimmerman and his rendering is that Pischel refers to the colophon of a Ms. reprinted by Aufrecht which states that Markandeya wrote in the reign of Mulundadeva, Aufrecht suggests that this Mukundadeva reigned in 1664 A D, but Pischel himself says this is not certain. He argues on the limit fixed after Vasantaraja (*Prakṛita Saṅgrani*) and places Markandeya after the first quarter of the fifteenth century A D.]

- (4) The strong probability that अम् which actually exists in the sense "to be" would be easily regarded as the original of अच्छइ used widely in the sense, "to be."

Now let us weigh all these considerations together. Hima-chandra's instances in his *Aum rap la char ta* lose their evidentiary value, as I have already stated above because the epic was composed with the special design of illustrating his grammatical rules. If we look into his *sūtra* गमिष्यमासा उ we see that the उ of गच्छइ and जच्छइ (गम् and जम्) is really from the Sanskrit गच्छति यच्छति and the change of म् to छ is after all a fiction viewed

the same. Cowell (*Prakṛita-Pīṭhā* Preface, Pp vi vii) just mentions the traditional conjunction of the 'n no gems (of whom Vararuchi was one रत्नान वै वारचिर्व विक्रमस्य) in the Court of Vikramaditya, placing the date at 56 B C, and prefers (evidently) a date far back into the past, "anterior to our era."

phonetically. The *इ* of *इप्* is no doubt phonetic in Sanskrit. Finding *गच्छइ*, *इच्छइ*, *जच्छइ* in current use Hemachandra grouped them together (phonetic as well as non-phonetic forms) and also finding *अच्छइ* in current use in varying senses ('to sit' shading off into 'to be') he joined this also in the *sūtra* (*स्* to *छ* being a phonetic change) and especially as *अस्थि* was seen used for all persons and numbers, he regarded *अच्छइ* as derived from *आम्*. Vararuchi prefers *अस्-अच्छ* in all forms except the 3rd person singular of the present tense where he insists on *अस्थि*. But in view of the fact that *अच्छति*, *अच्छइ* were also in existence in his time in all probability it seems that seeing *अस्थि* also in use he fixed his gaze on that and ignored the other form *अच्छति*, *अच्छइ*. Kramadīvara, on the other hand, has *सि* for the second person singular, *म्हि* for the first person singular (for *असि* and *अस्मि* respectively) *म्हो* and *म्ह* for the 1st person plural, and *अच्छ* in all the rest ¹⁰³. Thus while Vararuchi has *अच्छ* everywhere except in the case of *अस्ति* Kramadīvara has *अच्छ* in the case of *अस्ति*, *सन्ति* and *स्य*,—*अच्छइ*, *अच्छन्ति* and *अच्छइ* or *अच्छत्य*.

As to the formation *अच्छ* there is no difficulty in the way. The change of *स्* to *छ* is found at work in several words, as I have already shown (see *supra* P 249) *पप्-छ*, *पठ-छटो*, *शक्-छक्वो* *मशक्-मच्छर*, &c., (of course the *स्* being an evolute of an original *श्* or *प्*). The reverse change from *छ* to *स्* has been noticed by Mr Beames (Vol I, P 218) as especially obtaining in Marathi, this change is found at work in Gujarati also, e.g. *Shr.* *अक्ष*=axle, *Pr* *अच्छ* and also *अस्त्र*, *G* *आस्*, and curiously enough *M* partially breaks its rule and has *आल* as well as *आस्*. This is enough to indicate a phonetic affinity between *छ* and *स्* which is the cause of the change *स्* to *छ* in the instances given by me. Now *अस्ति* at some stage, in splitting off its *स्ति* (under the process of *विश्लेष*) stood thus *अस+ति*—*अस+इ* (the *स्* getting the *अ*

103 *सि म्हास्त सिग्निम् म्याम्* iv-8, उच्चमद्विना म्हो म्हो iv-9, अच्छोऽयन iv-10 (*Samlshipta s rī*) But in another place *Samlshipta sara* recognizes *अस्थि* as a solitary form in Mahu sūtri (अस्तेरस्थितिः ॥ अस्थि इति ॥ (*Lassen, App* Pp 50, 51, Extract from S S)

ending under the general rule indicated by *Si Hc VIII-iv-289*, and by Vararuchi in *Prakṛita-Prakāśa VIII, 71*) Here, although the *matrā* quantity is preserved there is an inherent feeling of loss of strength which existed in अस्ति with the अ emphasized by the subsequent conjunct. To compensate for this apparent loss of strength, अस+ति (इ) doubled¹⁰⁹ the स् and evolved अस्सति (अस्सइ). This अस्सति-अस्सइ was likely to be mistaken for अस्सइ evolved from अस्पति (=brows). To secure a distinction from it the स्स in अस्सइ, the evolve of अस्ति took refuge under its phonetic affinity with छ-च्छ and assumed the form अच्छइ (This अच्छइ later on became अउइ in post-Apabhramśa stages, just as पच्छइ (from Skṛ पथात्) became प इ, and then अछि, (like पछि-पडी).

आस्ते (=sits) must pass through a similar series of evolutions to arrive at the final form अच्छति or अच्छइ This, then, is the possible history of अच्छइ which gave छे to modern Gujarati. It will be evident that I incline strongly in favour of the derivation from अस् (to be) in preference to आस् (to sit) However, in view of the oldest vernacular, Pali showing अच्छति in a sense more fitting with आस् (to sit) than with अस् (to be), I may venture a suggestion that both, आस् as well as अस्, evolved the common form अच्छइ¹¹⁰ which, owing to the nearness of the mean-

109 This process (विशेष and then द्वित्व of the first member of the conjunct) will be perceived as natural when we compare instances like छत्रक (Skṛ), छत्तरई (Ap) छपटु (G) [Some derive छपटु from छत्रक, I consider the derivation unlikely for reasons to be given at the proper place the *its argn* about the change of च to प, see *infra*] पत्रक (Skṛ) पत्तरई (Ap) पपटु G, Surati G) The lengthening of अ (in the last instance, पपटु), indicates conclusively the doubling of the विशिष्ट first member

110 A very significant illustration of this is found in the following lines —अ अच्छइ त मागिअइ होसइ करतु म अचिछ ॥ (Illustration to *Si Hc VIII-iv 388*) which is rendered in the *Dodāla cruti* (V 8 1672 or earlier) thus —दइअ त मा-दते, कोउथ-रीयते सु-दने । मविध्यतीति कुर्वन् मा 'अचिछ' मा आरव मा निष्ठेय्व ॥ Here the first अच्छइ is taken as अस्ति and no other sense is possibly suitable while the second अचिछ is taken as आस (sit) though 'don't be "don't remain may as well fit in here, compare Mar थि, तु येथे अस (you be here, stay here)

ing between some phases of the sense of आम् and अम्, gave rise to a confusion which led some grammarians to trace it to अम् (to be) and others to connect it with आम् (to sit). With this suggestion, which does not affect my adherence to the derivation from अम् (to be), I close this rather lengthened out discussion.¹¹¹

Another root which may be put under this class is वा (वावुं) = to cause to sound, applied to वांसळी, the flute), e. g. वासळी वायळे. (Plays on the flute), as in

111. Mr. Keshavlal Dhruva favors the derivation from अम् 'to be' (See his edition of Bhāṇa's *Kādambarī*, Notes, P. 257, ll 10-18) He says succinctly to this effect — "Those who derive छे from आम् (स्थित्यर्थ) and रुच्छ (गत्यर्थ) are evidently misled by the Prākṛit form अच्छ. The च added in this root is due to the tendency noted in Pāṇini VI-1-73, छे च. Just as that tendency gives रुच्छ for रुप्, so it gives अच्छ Prākṛit for अम्. With the loss of that tendency during the Apabhraṃśa period the adventitious च is lost."

I should say this च is lost during the *post Apabhraṃśa* period. For Apabhraṃśa literature does not show अछड्, though Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's *Prāṇita Prāśāsa* (P. 94, foot notes) cites अरतेछे as a reading given by two Mss. It is possible, however, that this अछ् was given as a bare skeleton form, subject to the process of च coming in. It is after Apabhraṃśa and before modern Gujarātī that we find अछड (अच्छड् with its च dropped). I should also point out the difference between this genesis of the च and that suggested by me above, viz असड्-अरसड्-अछड्-अ-छड्.

The late Śāstri Vrajālal evades the issue, and simply says — अम् Skr. has अस्ति, 3rd person singular in the present tense. It becomes अस्ति or छड् in Prākṛit (*Uṣargamālā*, P. 74) — (छड् is not Prākṛit at all, but a very late *post Apabhraṃśa* form). When, however (at pp 102-3 of his *Uṣarga-mālā*) he tells us that अस्ति became स्ति and स्ति changing into थ gave थायळे (G) one cannot help smiling at the series of errors थायळे is obviously from स्था (Skr) 'to, stand. However, we must be fair. Cowell's edition of *Prāṇita-Praśāsa* (Vararuchi) P. 94, footnotes, gives थस्मि as the form of अस्मि according to one Ms. There is hardly any doubt that this थस्मि was really derived from स्था and misunderstood by the person responsible for this reading.

- (1) व्हालो म्हारो कुंजमां वायळे वांसळी रे लोड,
नादे वेथीळे म्हारी पांसळी रे लोड.

(Dayārām; *Garabī-Sangraha*, Gujarātī Press Edition;
P. 180, Garabī 81, st. 1).

- (2) वांसळडी वाजो सांझे आज वांसळडी वाजो;
वात माहारी भूली मां जाजो; सांझे आज०

(*Ibid*, P. 181, Garabī 84, opening lines).

This वा is reduced to this lowest size from वादयति Skr.; वायइ-
वाएइ (Pr.); वाए-वाय (ले), G..

I may notice only one other root under this class, ए-(2),—
लेवु "to take". I do not derive the word from नी (Skr.)=to
lead. (If that derivation was accepted, it won't fall under this
class, the change from न to ए being the only one and too small
for justifying its inclusion in this class). The reasons for
rejecting this derivation are:—

- (1) The sense of लेवु is "to take", that of नी is "to lead",
and though it is not impossible for the sense to pass
into that of "taking" through the sense, "to carry"
it does after all involve a far-fetching process;
- (2) नी is not found in Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa literature in
any form other than नी or the like;
- (3) A comparison with the Marāṭhī words नेणे (from नी)
='to guide', 'to lead', and घेणे (from गृह्)='to take'
indicates that नी is likely to be restricted to the
sense of guiding, leading or the like.

I derive ले (लेवु) from लभ् (Skr.), लइ (Pr.), लभते-लइइ-लभइ-लेइ.
The last step but one is a hypothetical one, but it is meant to show
the course of phonetic change. It is true ले is found already in this
form (लइ turned to ले) as early as the time of *Mugdhārabodha*
Auktika (V. S. 1450), and earlier even, i. e. before Hemachandra,
as the following quotations will indicate.—

- (१) करी लेई देई इत्यादि बोळिवईं × × × तिहां चया प्रत्यय

(*Mugdhārv*, P. 4 col. 2)

(२) करी लेई इत्यादि आगलि जाणइ सकइ ए बिहुनइ योगि तुम हुइ ।

(*Ibid*, P. 5. col. 2)

(३) जं कावालिं चप्पुडा लेई अभग्गु कवाळ ॥

(*Si. Hs. VIII-iv-387 illustration*)

लेई here is rendered in the *Dodhala Vritti* by लुहन्ति.

(4) जं चाहसि तं लेहि.

(*Prākṛita-Piṅgala*, I-9)

(*Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛita-Saṁskṛita*, XVII, 8, Vizagapatam Edition, gives 1-50 as the *Pr. Piṅgala* reference, but I find this quotation at I-9 in the Calcutta edition of *Pr. Piṅgala*).

All that we can say in these circumstances is that लह् had passed into the form ले at a very early stage, even if लह् has to be found side by side with it somewhere.

I am not alone in deriving ले from लप् as above. Mr. Beames supports me in this; see his *Comparative Grammar* Vol. III, P. 49, and Vol. I, P. 268. He also points out (Vol. I, P. 248) that Bangālī writes लहते, but pronounces नहते, and Oriya both writes and pronounces नेहवा; this may throw a side light on the attempt to connect Marāṭhī नेणे with Skr. लप्-लह् (*Pr.*)-लेह् (*G.*) instead of with नी Skr. "to lead". (Mr. Beames so derives M. नेणे Vol. III, P. 49). For M. नेणे and घेणे are different in sense (as I have pointed out above), just as Sindhi खण् and वण् bear different shades of meaning; खणी अच (= 'bring') (literally, come (अच) after 'taking' it) would be used in cases of things which can be carried in the hand, while वणी अच (also="bring") is used in cases of things which are not so portable but only capable of being led in or the like. Similarly in Marāṭhī घेणे refers to things that can be taken in the hand, and नेणे to things that can be led from one place to another. I recognise that नेणे has another sense, viz. "to carry"; but this is in distinct contrast with घेणे which means simply "to take"; thus नेणे implies the moving of a thing from one place to another, while घेणे to simple receiving of a thing in the hands or a receptacle.

Sir Rabīndranāth Tāgore also agrees in this derivation of Bang. লভিতে ('to take') from লब्. He traces the course thus:—लभिते, लभिते, -लभिते-नभिते-नीते-(See J. R. A. S. 1913, P. 538, article by Mr. J. A. Anderson on "Mr. Rabīndranāth Tāgore's Notes on Bengali Grammar".)

I now come to (ग) under our *Utsarga V*:—viz. the formation of the corpus of Gujarātī verbs by turning nouns (and, some times, adjectives) into verbal roots, without any appreciable alteration.

As a type of this class we may take the verb साळवું (G.) from शल्य (Skr.). The group may be called शल्यादि for convenience. शल्य='a dart, an arrow, a spike,' would be सल्ल in Prākṛit, and is साल in Gujarātī, a noun. From it we have the verb साळवું 'to hurt, pain inwardly.' No doubt, शल्य Skr. is from the verb शल्.¹¹² But the Gujarātī verb साळवું is correctly traceable to the Gujarātī noun साल as above. I give the शल्यादि list as framed by me:—

Skr. noun or Adj.	Prākṛit or Apabhr.	Guj.	Guj. verb.
1 शल्यं	सल्लं	साल	साळवું
2 पर्याणं	पट्टाणं	पटाण	पटाणवું
3 धैर्यं	धीरं	धीर (rare, as in धारी न सकयो धीरः Dalapatrām).	धीरवું
4 तस्करः	(direct)		तस्करवું
5 निर्वाहः	निव्वाह	निभाज	नभाजवું then नभवું
6 चित्रं	(direct)		चीतरवું
7 धूर्तः	धुत्तु	(धूत at some time).	धूतवું

112. शल्ति Skr. would be सल्लि Pr.; unless it is सल्लि we cannot have सालि in Guj.. शल् is not found in शकादिगण referred to in S. II. VIII-iv-329 so as to double the श्. Nor is the गण called an अकृतिगण. The word शल्यादि at the end of the illustrations leaves the matter in uncertainty. If शल् can be included in the गण we may exclude साळवું from our list here.

Skr. noun or Adj.	Prākṛit or Apabhṛ.	Guj.	Guj. verb.
8 कटं	कटं		कटवुं
9 भटः	भट्ट	भट	भटवुं
10 स्थिरं	थिरु	थिर	ठरवुं
11 दरः	डरु	डर	डरवुं
12 तलस्पर्शः	तलपुंख		तळांसवुं
13 युगकं	जुअडवुं	जोडुं	जोडवुं
14		ठग	ठगवुं
15		आचको	अचकावुं
16		वचको	वचकावुं
17		खटको	खटकवुं
18 संकटं	संकडवुं	सांकडुं	संकडावुं
19 वक्तं	वकवुं	वांकुं	वंकावुं
20 धलकं	धलवुं	धोळुं	धोळवुं
21 पीतं	पीअलं	पीळुं	पीळवुं
22		भोळुं	भोळवुं
23		गभरो	गभरावुं
24 आकुल	आकुल	आकळो	अकळावुं
25 पश्चात्तापः	पच्छात्ताव	पस्तावो	पस्तावुं

[संपीने is a participial form of a defective verb the root whereof may be portulated as संप्; no other verbal form of this is recognized by idiom. This is a verb formed from the noun संप which can be conjecturally traced to Skr. संपातः (=concurrence), Ap. संपाड, then संपाड-संपु-संप.]

NOTES:—

(2) I find पद्माणिअ in *Kumārāpāla-Charita*, II, 63. The Sanskrit commentary renders it by प्रादितपत्ययनाः. It also has अपर्याणिताः for अपडयाणिअ. This may show that the original Sanskrit nominal root gave पलाणडुं. But in view of the very limited field in which Gujarātī demominative verbs play a part, I prefer to trace the verb to the Gujarātī noun, पलाण.

(3) धीरुं means "to trust, so as to bear in patience." Sanskrit has not got धी as a root; अधी (= to slight) does exist, but as a whole root.

(4) तस्करुं; cf. "तस्कुं तंतरुं तस्करुं ए आठे आपकळ्या य."

(A popular saying).

(5) नभुं—This is a peculiar formation. नभाव gives the appearance of a causal form in आर्, and hence नभ् is taken as an original root. The mistake of regarding कृदन्त formations in आव e. g. देणार, चढाव, बनाव etc. as nouns formed from the causal in आव plays also a part in this case.

It is not quite satisfactory to trace नभुं from निर्वहति-निव्वहइ-निव्वहइ-निभुं, for the sense of निभाव when traced from निर्वाह is not fully derived from निर्वह. In निर्वह the sense is active (निर्वाह करवो), whereas निभुं-नभुं implies a passive sense (निर्वाह धवो).

(6) चीतरुं;—चित्रयति is found in Sanskrit itself; it is given as a root in the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. But in reality in Sanskrit itself the root is from the noun चित्र. I have an idea that चित्र really came from चित्, consciousness, life; that alone can be a true चित्र which embodies a conscious, living, idea.

(8) कठुं;—as in वरसाद् कठेठे; which refers to the oppressive heat before rainfall. कठारो is the noun from कठुं.

(9) भडुं—e. g.

"चालो चतुरा पछी जई भडिये

(*Narasinha; Surata-Sangrāma*, 27-8).

(10) ठरुं—The verb ठरुं may owe its rise to a misapprehension, similar to that which gave ऊभुं to Kathiāvāda. स्थिरक-धिरउ-ठरो, which may be mistaken for ठर्यो and hence ठरुं. I put this as an alternative theory.

(12) तळ्यंसुं This root cannot have been formed direct from तळ and the verb स्पृश्, for in that case it would be तळं स्पृशति, whereas we have तळ्यंसुं as a whole word. Consequently तळस्पृश noun, through तळस्पृश, gives तळ्यंसुं correctly.

(18) જોડવું-યુજ્ (Skr.) cannot have yielded જોડવું direct; for યુજ્ has જુંજઈ, યુજ્જઈ, યુજ્પઈ in Prākṛit.

(14) to (17) and (22) and (23). These are from Gujarātī nouns and adjective with no corresponding source-word in Sanskrīt.

(18) to (24) are verbs framed from adjectives whereas the others are from nouns. Amongst the adjectives, (18), (19), (22), (23) and (24) possess a passive sense, and can thus be differentiated from Sanskrīt denominatives like મલિનયતિ; (20) and (21) on the one hand and (22) on the other may be contrasted: પોઝવું, પીઝવું are like મલિનયતિ, causal in sense, but without any denominative termination; whereas મોઝવું has such a sense (મોઝું બનાવવું, i. e. મોઝું બનાવી હેતરવું), and the termination અવ (similar to skr. અય) as well.

(25) પસ્તાવું is an instance where the principle of false analogy finds play. પસ્તાવો, a pure noun, is regarded as having આવો as a ફૂ termination like ભરાવો from ભર, ચડાવો from ચડ and the like; and hence પસ્તા is taken as the corpus in a passive sense.

I may here sound a note of warning. Verbs, no doubt, are formed as above from nouns and adjectives, but there is a limit fixed to it by idiom and usage whose canons are like unwritten law. To take any undue liberty with this principle will lead one into ridiculous absurdities. Such cases are seen in erroneous and irresponsible formations from participles in ક્ત or in અન (હ્યુદ) terminations; e. g.

1. “લગ્નમાં સકલ ભૂતકાઝ સંક્રાન્તેહે.”

(*Indu-Kumāra Nāṭaka*, by Mr. Nānālāl D. Kavi, I, ૪-74).

2. “પદ્યો-પરિસમાપ્તો નથી”

(*Kēṭalānī Kāvya*, by the same writer, Dedication, P. 3, l. 7)

3. “સંતાનના સ્નેહ ઉછેરજો, વાઝજો, પરિચ્છજો

(*Jayā and Jayanta*, by the same author, P. 148, line 20)

4. નિમંત્રણતી (*Ushā*, by the same author, P. 16)

This sort of unknowing license is carried to further extremes by some others, as when a writer in a Gujarātī Magazine (*Samālochana*, July-September 1912, P. 176, line 1.) coins the verb प्रदक्षु from प्रदक्षिणा! The very formation of प्रदक्षिणा is ignored here. A friend sending to me a New Year's Day greeting wrote 'तुम आत्मने वदतश्चे;' here the bad example set by Mr. Nānālāl is faithfully followed. I need not waste time in analyzing the error in these liberties with language, grammar and common sense.¹¹³

[NOTE — It may be asked why this part ग of this *Utsarga* is not treated as part of *Utsarga IV-3* where stems formed from चान्त formations are dealt with. But a little comparative examination will disclose the difference in the conditions in each case. In cases following under *Utsarga IV-(3)* the stem-formation itself is the subject and it is affected by some phonetic operation or other following or accompanying the joining of the क termination; while in the present case the original चान्त form of Sanskrit is taken up bodily to form the corpus of the verb.]

I shall close this part of the fourth Lecture here.

113. The only exceptions sanctioned by usage and idiom that I can find in this connection are the verbs दत्तु (=to give) and दक्षु used in Gujarātī from दत्त and दक्ष (past participles in Skr.). There is a clear object in these exceptional forms, in the first place the word दत्तु is used not in any and every case of giving, but only somewhat sarcastically and in a sinister way to express the idea of unjust, illegal, or unrighteous giving, as that of a bribe and the like. Secondly, to emphasize this aspect of the sense the original Sanskrit form दत्त is intentionally preserved to give prominence to it. दक्षु is similarly taken bodily from the Sanskrit चान्त with the special object of intensifying the sense of giving severe mental pain.

It is difficult to see any special object in the verb formed out of मुक्त (मुक्तु), by Dayārām in the following line —

अच्युत भवन अवशेष मुक्ते प्रतिदिने जन जेह

(*Rasika-Vallabha*, XCIV, 4).

It must be regarded as a bold license, unless it was a form in vogue technically amongst *Vaishnavas*.

NOTE A.

(Lecture IV, Section I)

स्वरभक्ति—See P 118, end of n 5.

It will be interesting to examine the full significance and scope of स्वरभक्ति so that a clear light may be thrown on its relation to the विश्लेष of our present day vernaculars. The passages dealing with स्वरभक्ति in the *Rigveda Prātisākhya* are as under —

Patala I, 17, VI 10, 13, 14, XIII, 13, XIV, 25.

Macdonell has focused all the important features of स्वरभक्ति from the *Prātisākhya*s in his *Vedic Grammar* (Encyclopaedia of Indo Aryan Research Series) in § 21 thus —

“*Śvarabhakti*—When a consonant is in conjunction with *r* or a nasal a very short vocalic sound tends to be developed between them, and the evidence of metre shows that a vowel must often be pronounced between them. It is the general view of the *Prātisākhya*s that when an *r* precedes another consonant a vowel is sounded after it, according to some of them this also takes place after *l* or even after any voiced consonant. They call it *Śvarabhakti* or “vowel part,” which they describe as equal to $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{8}$ mora in length and generally as equivalent to *a* or *e* (probably = *ẽ*) in sound

“*a*. The metre of the *RV.* shows that an additional syllable is frequently required in words in which *r* either precedes or follows another consonant e.g. *darśata* ‘worthy to be seen’ (quadrisyllabic) *indra-* name of a god (very often trisyllabic), *pra* “forth” (dissyllabic.)

“*b*. When a consonant is followed by *n*, *n*, or *m*, the same parasitic vowel often appears, e.g. *yajna* (= *yajana* “sacrifice,” *gnā* (= *gnāu*) “woman” It is, however, here frequent only as representing the second syllable after the caesura in trishtubh and jagati verses, it rarely occurs at the beginning of such verses, and never at the end”

This section has an important note 11 —

“There seem to be a few instances of a *Śvarabhakti* vowel being actually written *tasants*, beside *tas*—“tremble,” the secondary derivative *Śaitarim* beside *Śitra* (A V) “white,” *purusa* and *pūrusa*—“man” probably for *pūre* (Wackernagel, I, 51, cp 52)”

Uvata in his commentary on the *Rik Prātisākhya* (Patala I-17) remarks —*अन्वयस्य चेत्यस्वरभक्तिस्वरप्रकार इत्यर्थः ॥* The first portion of this comment would probably favour my interpretation, स्वरभक्ति, but the latter portion would show it to mean स्वरस्य भक्तिः.

Then MacDonell's interpretation (“vowel part”) has the support

of the St Petersburg Lexicon which renders *Svarabhakti* by *Teilocal* (a portion of a vowel)

Whitney (*Saṁskṛta Pratiśākhya* 221-15) also calls it *fragment*, *piece part of a vowel*

On the other hand, M. Williams, in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, calls *Svarabhakti* 'vowel fracture' which would favour the sense स्वरेण भक्ति, unless "vowel fracture is intended to mean 'fracture (a fraction) of a vowel,' which is not a likely meaning

Again इनियात् for हन्यात्, पुरष for पूष would indicate that, at least in cases of this nature, the interpolated element is a vowel, not vowel part, and thus it would be स्वरेण भक्ति, not स्वरस्य भक्ति, unless the इ and उ in these cases are to be pronounced as fractions of a one mātra vowel

Then again, the corresponding Greek term for *Svarabhakti*, viz *Analyxis*, means literally, 'unfolding (ana=back, tyxis=fold), this would point to the process of the unfolding of a conjunct by the interpolation of a vowel between the two members, therefore स्वरेण भक्ति (separation) of the members of a conjunct

Taking all these facts together, it may fairly be inferred that *Svarabhakti* was originally intended to denote the process of splitting up (भक्ति) of the members of a conjunct by a vowel (स्वरेण)—the vowel being of longer than a short vowel and that by an unconscious transition it acquired the sense of 'portion of a vowel,'—a sense made plausible by the fact that the operating vowel was generally, almost always, a fraction of a mātra either $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or sometimes $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mora. Such an unconscious shunting off of meaning is not an uncommon psychological process

An examination of the nature of *Svarabhakti* will show the following points of contrast between itself and विधेय as seen in the vernaculars in India, and even in the earlier Prākṛits —

- (a) While विधेय involves a full one mātra vowel *Svarabhakti* as a rule has a fraction of a mātra, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$ of a mātra, only in very rare cases it involves a full mātra vowel, as in पुरष for पूष, and इनियात् for हन्यात्. In fact *Svarabhakti* is such a delicate phonetic phenomenon that some Āchāryas have gone the length of denying its existence (vide *Rik-Pratiśākhya*, Pāṭala VI, 14)
- (b) The nature of *Svarabhakti* is so very delicate that the *Pratiśākhya* says it does not interfere with the functions of the conjunct न सयोगे स्वभक्तिर्विहन्ति (*Rik Prat*, Pāṭala VI-10) True, this primarily means that स्वभक्ति सयोगकार्यं न बाधते none

theless its further significance is that the conjunct practically remains intact. *विशेष*, on the contrary, actually breaks off the conjunct,

- (c) In the case of *Starabhaṭi* the interpolated vowel is either अ or a short ए. In the case of *विशेष* it is always अ in our vernaculars, and, in the Prākṛits, the original vowel is generally repeated (तत्स्वरता भवति); किलिट् (for किलट्), रभण (for रत्नं), किरिआ (for क्रिया) *Vide Prākṛita-Prakāśa*, III—50 ff.; or, as Hāmchandra gives it, the interpolated vowel is अ, इ or उ as the case may be, see S: Hā. VIII—11—100 to 115;
- (d) *Starabhaṭi* comes in only when there is a र or sometimes a ल, or a nasal (or even a voiced consonant) as a member of the conjunct. *विशेष* occurs even outside these limitations, e.g.

भक्तः (Skr.)

भगत (G.)

युक्तक (Skr.)

जुगुत्तं (G.)

and the like;

- (e) *स्वरभक्ति* is developed only as a metrical necessity; (as MacDonell discovers, though it is not easy to find this in the *Prātisākhya*, there may be some such reference not at once visible). *विशेष*, on the other hand, is a phonetic development unconnected with metre, and arises out of physiological necessity, (which, I suspect, is at the bottom of *स्वरभक्ति* also).
- (f) Even in the case of some internal *sandhi* changes where य and व are involved as second members of a conjunct, the principle of *starabhaṭi* underlies the eventual changes; e.g. *वैयाकरण* from *व्याकरण*; *वैयधिकरण्य* from *व्यधिकरण* *वैयम्य* from *व्यय*, *वैयाघ्र* from *व्याघ्र*; *द्वय* from *द्वः*; *दौवारिक* from *द्वार*; *शौव*, *शौवन* from *श्व*, *श्वान*; *शौवपद* from *श्वपद*; *शौवरितक* from *श्वः*.

In some of these instances the original conjunct is the result of the union of इ and अ, as in *व्याकरण*, *व्यधिकरण*, and *व्याघ्र* (*व्याघ्रजितीति श्यामः*); but in cases like *द्वः*, *द्वार*, *श्व*, *श्वपद*, *श्वः* the conjunct does not flow from an original इ or उ and अ. All these instances throw a very significant light on the natural basis of *Starabhaṭi*.

This principle of *Anaptyxis* is noticed by comparative philologists; witness Karl Brugmann, *Kurze, Vergleichende Grammatik Der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, §§ 312-313

- Dr. P. D. Guṇē (*Introduction to Comparative Philology*, P. 51) also notices *Anaptyxis*, but he does not seem to distinguish between

Starabhatta (with a fractional *matra*) and the full splitting up of the conjunct which I have called विक्षेप. He lumps together the Vedic इन्द्र (इन्द्रा), दक्षत (दक्षत) and the full विक्षेप of the modern vernaculars as in M प्रकार for Skr प्रकार, M भ्रम for Skr भ्रम etc.

This short survey will show that *Starabhatta* furnishes the underlying principle of विक्षेप in an embryonic stage that at an early stage the विक्षेप-like formation peeped out in occasional words like इनियात् and पुरय, and that the very name *anaptyxis* which simply means "folding back, unfolding," marks a partial separation of the folded petals of the conjunct but I would finally point to the significance of the grammatical change yielding a split nasal as in मनकि (मन्), हणदि (हन्), दिनस्ति (दिस्), मुनकि (मुज्), &c. as marking the intermediate step leading up to the विक्षेप of the modern vernaculars, beginning in the Prākṛit period.

I find the term विक्षेप used by Mārkaṇḍeya in his *Prāhara Sārasa*, II, 47, where, however, he uses it as applying to dissolution of (vowel—?) *sandhi*, or rather to the absence of coalescing of vowels by *sandhi*.

But he deals with the splitting up of conjuncts in III—77 ff and his term for the process is विकर्षण (III, 77) which he explains in the gloss as विक्षेप. He also notes ह्रस्वरत्न as well as the interpolation of इ, उ, अ in certain cases.

NOTE B

(Lecture IV—Section I)

(See P. 187 of the Lecture)

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON THE WIDE *Ī* AND *Ō*

(With reference to Dr. Tessitori's criticism of my theory, in the *Indian Antiquary*, September 1918 Vol. XLII, Part DCCIX.)

The main point of difference between Dr. Tessitori and myself is—

That Dr. Tessitori derives the wide ई-औ from अइ-अउ and the narrow one from अय-अव, while I hold the opposite view (ई-औ (wide) from अय-अव, अय्-अव्, and ऐ-औ (narrow) from अइ-अउ).

(a) Dr. Tessitori regards अय्, अयठउ &c. as deceptive spellings, य being a mere writing peculiarity for इ. To prove this he goes back to Prākṛit works even and cites from Jacob's *Mahārāṣṭrī 'Erzählungen*, pp. 72, 63, 61, 60,—

गयं, पयसारिओ, कयवय, and वयर for
गइ, पइसारिओ, कइवय, and वइर.

My reply—The Mes on which Jacobi based his edition were written in V S 1611 and 1660 respectively. It is, therefore, clear that the scribes adopted the *actual* spelling in vogue in that period, a spelling quite unknown to Prākṛit. (I leave aside the possible explanation about गय, that it may as well be Prākṛit for गत (instead of गति), as the other instances show य as the evolute of इ).

(b) Dr Tessitori has been oscillating in his views as to the nature of this य found really as an evolute of इ in O. W. Rāj. Thus —

- (1) In his 'Notes' § 4-(5) he gives य as a real change of इ and cites वयर, वयराणी, पयसर as instances from O. W. R. works.
- (2) Later on he regards वयर &ca as instances of "writing peculiarity" only, again, वयर, वयराणी as Prākṛit *tatsamas*, and again he says that the अय may be a corruption of the Sanskrit अ (a thing quite unknown to the Prākṛits)
(See his "Bardic Survey", App. 1. P. 76)
- (3) Lastly, in Indian Antiquary, September 1918, he calls the य a writing peculiarity for इ and वयराणी as a *tatsama* in part modelled on वयर.

Here is a bewildering conflict of views

(c) *The change of उ to व*

While repeating his objections to the reversion of उ to व in O. W. Rāj, he tries now to account for the change of उ to व in words like देशव, देवळ, देवर by seeing therein the interpolation of what he calls a वक्षुति, citing, as instances in support of this theory, रावुळ, रावुत and such like Mār words

My answer to this would be this

These cases of उ are not due to वक्षुति interpolation, but to the turning of अ (in व) to उ just as Mār turns अ to इ in words like किमाड &ca. Any how the वक्षुति argument will not explain the case of कवण back from कउण, because, as Dr Tessitori himself holds, this वक्षुति comes in after a long vowel, (in कवण, the अ of क is short) [By the way, I may note here that वक्षुते, and even वक्षुति, is erroneous nomenclature, started perhaps by Dr Hoernle who called Hēmachandra's वक्षुति अकार by the wrong name वक्षुति as if the अ which was said to be heard as व and therefore called वक्षुति अकार got some curious thing like वक्षुति, see Dr Hoernle's Introduction to *Prākṛita Lal śhana*, P. XXVII].

(d) My theory that languages do not proceed on a uniform line of march but move backwards and forwards, is regarded by Dr. Tessitori as novel and requiring proof. I may, in answer, simply point to the instances of reversion of उ to ङ, back to उ and again to ङ, नै to ण and back to न; to कइ-करी-कै fluctuating on the stream of language to and fro, also अइ-अडे-अइ-अडे and the like. Nay, Dr. Tessitori's own views support me. He says -

"The passing of one language into another being always effected through gradual steps, it is natural that whenever the older language is made to finish and the younger one to commence, some of the features of the former must be found in the early stage of the latter and likewise some of the features of the latter in the ultimate stage of the former'.

(His "Notes", Reprint, P 5, ll 16-20 = Ind. Ant Feb 1914 Vol XLIII; Part D&L, P 25)

I also find Beames using the very same words as I have now used, many years before me, which I see only after I wrote my remark in question. He says -

"The process seems, like so many phonetic processes in the Indian languages, to *work backwards and forwards* and to branch out into further collateral developments, as into ङ, ङ, and the like'

("Comparative Grammar", Vol I, P 238 § 60 The italics are mine.)

(e) Dr. Tessitori regards the ऐ-औ as steps from अइ-अउ towards the wide sound, and he contends that such ऐ-औ are found in Gujarātī Mss of the 16th Century A. D. and thereabouts.

As I have already pointed out the ऐ-औ in Mar Mss are but a feeble attempt to symbolize the wide sound, and do not represent any preliminary step. As regards Gujarātī Mss and the ऐ-औ symbols, I have made a patient scrutiny of many old Gujarātī Mss of the period between V S 1557 and 1656, with the result that nowhere do these Mss use ऐ for the evolutes of अइ-अउ and that when in very rare instances these symbols (ऐ) are found, there are these either because the scribe was a Mīravādī or one under Mīravādī influence.

(f) Dr. Tessitori is himself not quite clear as to how these ऐ-औ were pronounced. He has at least three varying and more or less conflicting theories about this. Thus in The Indian Antiquary, September 1918, P 227 he states that the ऐ-औ were pronounced as diphthongs. At P 228, of the same number and in Note 10 therein he states that the *ṣadbhara* ऐ-औ were not pronounced exactly the same way as *ṭatsama* ऐ-औ, but that they were probably pronounced in a way similar to the ऐ-औ of Hindi. And yet at Pp 231-232 of the same number he tells

as that the Hindi *भै-भौ* sounds are identical with the wide *ई-मी* of Mar and Gujarātī except that they represent a slightly earlier stage, the very same stage of the Mārṣī Gujarātī diphthongs as they must have been pronounced previous to their transition into the wide vowels, *ई-मी*.

Now, there are obvious objections to all these theories. The pure diphthong, for instance, could not have suddenly jumped into the wide sound. Dr Tessitori seems to have a lurking suspicion that the *भै-भौ* were not sounded as pure diphthongs but fighting shy of the wide sound, lingered somewhere before the fully developed wide sound, and yet he again regards the *भै-भौ* as representing the fully developed wide sound. This confusion lands him into apparent inconsistencies.

I prefer the inverted *m trī* to mark the wide sound, because *भै-भौ*, as *सद्यः सधिस्रस्र*, keep the components *भ-इ* and *भ-उ* slightly apart from each other, whereas *ई-मी*, as *सकीर्ण सधिस्रस्र*, hold the components *भ-इ*, *भ-उ* interfused.

(g) The ear test on which I rely strongly is rejected by Dr. Tessitori as a false guide. I do not see how. After all, the question of pronunciation depends mainly, if not entirely, on the *hearing* of the sound. Oral tradition, *गुरुसंप्रदाय*, is most valuable in this matter. Mere dead formulae and symbols are useless without such teaching. Live sound must be presented to the ear. Even Dr. Tessitori himself ran into a wrong interpretation of the wide sound when he had to depend on accounts given by others and see only written symbols. He has made a clear admission about this in his "Bardic Survey", J. A. S. Beng N. S. XII, 1916 A. D., P. 74 para 1. True, he now (The Indian Antiquary September, 1918, P. 232, n. 16) says that he misunderstood the signs *ai-au* in Sir George Grierson's L. S. I. IX, ii, and suggests that this was the source of his error. But Sir George has distinctly stated (L. S. I. IX-ii, P. 20) that *ai* and *au* stand for the sounds in "hat and hot". And Dr. Tessitori's exact words ("Bardic Survey", P. 74) are— "I had never been in India and for all information concerning pronunciation in Gujarātī and Mārṣī I had completely to rely on the account given by others which I afterwards found to be incorrect". The words underlined here show something different from the written reference in Sir George's L. S. I. IX ii. I maintain that you have only to sound *अइ-अउ* and you see the connection and causal relation with the wide sound (*ई-मी*).

(h) *Samprasāraṇa*—In cases like
कपसट्टिका—कसवटी—कसवटी—कसोटी,

and घनतरक—घणदरक—घणदरक—घणदरक.

Dr Tessler objects to the changes of व-य to उ-इ (i. e. to *sampraśāraṇa*) on the ground that *sampraśāraṇa* is not possible (in O W Rāj) where the व or य is initial, also that if the व-य are stressed there is no *sampraśāraṇa*, but if unstressed they take *samprasaraṇa*. This is just the opposite of my contention. When व-य (or rather the अ therein) is accented there is *samprasaraṇa* and if it is unaccented *sampraśāraṇa* is prevented by the shifting of the accent to the preceding अ (of अय-अव), thus turning the अ of य-व into a द्रुततर अ and consequently dropping it, leaving अय-अव as the immediate cause of the wide sound.¹

The genesis of *samprasaraṇa* in words coming into the vernaculars is thus *-samprasaraṇa* is due to a softening of effort in pronouncing the semi-vowels it is a liquefaction of these sounds. This is rendered possible when the य-व are intervocalic, for the two adjacent vowels provide a vocalic atmosphere and influence. This reduces the strong य-व to weak य-व in the first instance and then finally to इ-उ, the strong य-व (which Dr Hoernle, in his Introduction to the *Prakṛita Lakṣaṇa* P XXVII, § 4, happily calls semi consonants) turn into weak य-व (which Dr Hoernle calls *semi vowels*) then these melt away into the vocalic condition इ, उ, under the action of an intervocalic medium.

Thus, the conditions requisite for *samprasaraṇa* are —

(a) Intervocalic position of य-व,

and (b) stress on the अ of य-व

The *sampraśāraṇa* in the following words may at first sight appear to violate condition (a) cited above

(1) ध्वनि (Skr)	धून (G)
(2) स्वर (Skr)	सूर (G)
(3) द्वि (Skr)	दुइ (H)
(4) व्यक्ति (Skr)	वीगत (G)

1 Dr Tessler will find himself on the horns of a dilemma in the case of words like नकुल-नदल-नोळ, बबुलसरी-बडलसरी (बडलसरी by metathesis)-बोसली. For the अउ in these words is undoubted as also the narrow ओ in the final word-form. He must either admit that the narrow sound here has come out of अउ and give up the theory that अव (and अय) yields the narrow sound or convert the अउ here into अव to account for the narrow sound and in so doing admit प्रतिस्मरण (change of उ to व) which he has throughout denied.

But it is an apparent violation only. For, in these cases a minute *स्वरमयिक* steps in at first and yields ध्रुवनि, स्वर, द्वि, द्वयकि as intermediate steps, thus furnishing the required intervocalic position for य and व्.

(L) *Accent and its influence* —

Dr Teasitori is puzzled at my use of accent. He asks if it is the old Sanskrit accent. It cannot be in the case of Prakṛita and vernaculars. Even the old Sanskrit accent was partly pitch and partly stress, no one is yet decided as to its true nature, and scholars like Beames and Dr Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar have used the term "accent" in the sense of "stress" in dealing with the phonology of modern vernaculars. There was therefore no occasion to ask what I meant by 'accent', or to contend that my accent did not fall on the same syllable on which the Sanskrit accent falls.

SUPPLEMENT.

LECTURE III

(I) P 76 After (5) Add —

Bhāḥana's *Kīdambarī*, P. 33, l 1 (k. II Dhruva's edition) has व्यापारी विपणि माडया सुसशुक्तिप्रवाल । and *Silarati no Rdā* (V. S 1700), P. 60, l 7 (*Pr Kāvya-mālā* edition) has व्यापारी (though l 8 next after it has व्यवहारी)

All I can say to this is that व्यापार, as a false word, must have originated before Bhāḥana's time

(II) P 80, after para 1 add —

For an enlightening discussion on the connection between these sounds, त (or ट) and क, and the physiological inability of some races see Max Müller's *Science of Language*, Vol II, pp 183-185. The following statement therein is noteworthy—
"Physiologically we can only account for this confusion by inefficient articulation, the tongue striking the palate bluntly half way between the *k* and the *t* points, and thus producing more of a dental, sometimes more of a palatal noise."

I may add that the phonetic affinity between त and क is indirectly suggested by the fact that the junction of तर्ग letters with य yields चर्ग letters in Prakṛit and a similar junction of कर्ग letters with य yields the same result in rustic Gujarātī. सरय Sār, सच Pr, वयम G चम (rustic G.).

(III) P. 94; n. 42.

पुः (Skr.), (M.) पुं.

Dr. Bhāndārkar (Lectures, P. 190) traces पुं (M.) to प्रभृति (Skr.) through प्रभृति (Pr.). The sense as well as sound-changes favor the derivation from पुः.

LECTURE IV Section I

(I) P. 113. After the definition of अक्षर, add—

But अक्षर signifies a vowel also. See *Rik-Prāliśākhya*, 20, and 23 (M. Muller's edition):

ओजादृत्वाः सप्तमान्ताः स्वराणामन्ये दीर्घा उभये त्वक्षराणि ।²⁰

अनुस्वारो व्यंजनं चाक्षराक्षम् ।²¹

(II) P. 127, n. 12. Continue the note thus:—

A still stronger indication is found in the change of उ to व (in Marāṭhi) when inflectional changes remove the accent from उ; e. g. पाउंस (nominative); पविसांत (locative).

Gōjārāṭhi itself has the word पावस (with a व) in literature of the nineteenth and seventeenth centuries of the Vikrama era:

(1) पावस ऋतुमां पश्यन् क्वां मासे

(Dayārām; *Dayārām-Līlā-Kāvya-maṇi-māla*, Part II, P. 296, pada 44, edited by Joshi Chhotālāl Girijāśankar and Vasantrām Harikṛishṇa Śāstri).

(2) पावस रते वणु मेघयी धरणी धरे जेम वेह

(*Sīlavatī-no-Rāsa*; V. S. 1700, P. 60, l. 10, *Pr. Kāvya-māla* edition.)

(3) ठाठ मांडयो ठगलो रे वगला पावस बेरी

(*Scardāpa*, Dhīro Bhagat, XXII, 1).

The word, पावस, here means ऋतुम्, the rainy season, (as in Skr.),¹ not "rain" (as in Marāṭhi), thus it could not have been an importation from Marāṭhi by Dayārām, Nemavijaya, or Dhīro. Nor could the steps have been ऋतुम्-पावस-पावस, because Prākṛit itself has पावस with the vowel, उ; (*Kumārāpāla-charita*, I. 9, 21, II, 32; &c.). Therefore पावस

1. In the illustration from Dhīro, the sense is changed by दृष्ट्या and पावस means—"a vow observed in the rainy season," पावस बेरी is just like नवरात्र बेरी (=to observe the vow during the nine nights, i. e. nine days, in Āvina (1st to 10th, bright half) for worshipping the goddesses). वगलो पावस बेरी has acquired proverbial currency.

is a clear case of *prati-samprasāraṇa*. Nor could it be explained by the interpolation of *v̄ āgama* followed by a change of *उ* to *अ*; पाठस-पाठस-पाठस; a process involving needless circumlocution.

(III) P. 129. अहम्.—I regard the importation of *अ* as queer, because *अहं* comes in generally in the case of words in the neuter gender (Si Hê. VIII-iv-354), whereas *अहं* cannot by any strain be regarded as in the neuter gender. *अहं* changed to *हम्* may be regarded as a case of metathesis or of the shifting of the *ह* to the beginning of a word (as per *utsarga I*—(a), under class B *infra* Lecture IV, section II, opening pages).

Dr Sir R. G. Bhindārkar (Lectures, P. 207 and n. 4) traces *अहं* to *अहम्* (Skr.). He adds that the *उ* of *हउ* is that of the nominative singular which was freely used in Ap. as the Gujarātī *ओ* is at present. Be this as it may, my difficulty about the *anusāra* in *हं* will remain as it is, whereas my derivation will show that it is referable to the original *म्* in *अहम्*.

I recognise that Pāṇini V-iii-71 (अव्ययसर्वनामानामकञ् प्राकृटे.) and the *śāstra* thereon (अनोकारसकारमकारादाविति वक्तव्यम्) would render *अहम्* a possibility (though the illustrations given in the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* and the *Mahā-Bhāṣya* do not give *अहम्*); none the less, I feel no necessity to go for help to such out-of-the-way forms when a simpler process is at hand (*अहं-हम्-हउ-हुं*), based on the word *अहं* which must be more commonly in use.

(IV) P. 153. Add after सर्व-सौ the following.—

चतुर्वर्मकं चउव्वहउं चउहुं-चौहुं

(V) P. 247, last para. त्याना (H.), Add.—

We find a similar combination of *उ+अ,म्* in *Vimala-prabandha; Khandā, III, 144;*

गरम षउइ गजघट त्याविउ ॥

Also, 161;

लयावई रे लक्ष घधामर्णा ।

So also in *Bhūlaṇa, Kaddambari.*—

उठी इन्नायुधनि त्यायु; क्तार्यू पल्लान

(Kṣavali Dhruva's edition, P. 88, l. 5.)

LECTURE IV. (SECTION II)

The History of the Gujarātī Language, its Evolution.

I now come to Class B of the *utsargas* governing the phonetic evolution of Gujarātī words, viz: *utsargas* partially peculiar to Gujarātī, i. e. such as are shared with other Indian vernaculars but with some variation. Under this class, only one important *utsarga* may be treated. It deals with the position of the weak **ह** in Gujarātī words. This *utsarga* is shared by Gujarātī with Hindi but in a partial sense only; for in Gujarātī हमारु has a weak **ह**, whereas in Hindi हमारा has the strong **ह**. [I have already compared the strong and weak **ह** sounds with the कण्ठ्य and औरस्य **ह** sounds of the *Pāṇiniya Śikṣā* (See *supra*, P. 66, also *supra*, P. 115). Evidently, the dual nature of the **ह** sound came down from still earlier times, witness the *Rik-Prātisākhya*, Paṭala I, 18:—कण्ठयोऽकारः प्रथमपञ्चमौ च द्वादश्याणौ (vl. ऊष्मणाम्) केचिदेता उरस्यौ। Urvata on this says:—प्रथमोदकारः पञ्चमो विसर्जनीयः एतौ चोष्मणां मध्ये कण्ठस्थानौ वेदितव्यौ। केचिदाचार्या एतौ हकारविसर्जनीयौ उरःस्थानानिच्छन्ति॥]. But as the principle of denoting the **ह** is recognised, whether it be strong or weak, I put the *utsarga* under Class B and not under A. Marāṭhī is distinct from Gujarātī and Hindi in this respect; it drops the **ह** in words like आमचै or preserves it in the original conjunct, as in आर्जी, आर्जास, तुर्जी, तुर्जास; or separate as in वहीण, वहीम, तदान (from वृष्णा), लहान (from लृक्ष्ण), पहिला &c., (unlike Gujarātī वहीन, वहीम, पहिलं etc.); or, very rarely, moves it to the end of the words, as in मोठा (M); (Shr.) महान. In this feature Hindi also differs from Gujarātī and keeps the **ह** distinct, पहिला for पहिलं and the like; and this is to be expected from the sturdy nature of the Hindi-speaking race, for the **ह** shifted to the beginning and joined with the consonant will necessarily be weak in sound.

Now we may lay down the *utsarga* for Gujarātī specifically:—

Utsarga about the position of ह in Gujarātī words—enunciated.

The **ह** undergoes three different phonetic conditions:—

UTSARGA I.

(क) *Shifting of situation.*—The ह situated in any part of a word either as part of a conjunct or a pure simple non-conjunct, or an aspirating element in a class aspirate,

(a) generally moves towards the beginning of the word,
or (b) (rarely) moves towards the end of a word.

[Note:—The non-conjunct ह may either be derived as ह from Sanskrit or be a phonetic evolutive of a class aspirate: e. g.

Skr.	Prākṛ.	Gujarātī.
वहनं	वहणं	व्हण
कफोणिः	कहोणी	कहणी, कहूणी

This ह, after shifting place, remains either as संकीर्ण or संमृष्ट with its nearest letter.

(ख) An extraneous ह is interpolated into a word, when the original word, or the intermediate form, possesses none.

Here also the ह remains either संकीर्ण or संमृष्ट.

(ग) The ह existing in an original word is lost.

This ह may either be part of a conjunct, or संकीर्ण with a vowel, or may be the aspirating element of a class aspirate. In the last case the corresponding unaspirate remains precipitated.

EXAMPLES.

(क) *The shifting of the situation of ह.* (क)—(a)—(संमृष्ट हवार)
(From original conjunct हवार)

Skr.	Pr. or Apabhṛ.	Guj.
अदणकं	अणहकं	अहकं
पारिणः	पणही	पहानी

1. Si-Hā. VIII-ii-75, dealing with the change of ह्य to व्ह, gives व्ह alone among the instances; and VIII-ii-79 would lead one to suppose that व being one of the consonants dropped from a conjunct, whether it be upper or lower, व्ह may not be a form at all. But VIII-ii-77 notes the dropping of व् when an upper member in a conjunct, and व्ह

Skr.	Pr. or Apabhr.	Guj.
प्रस्त्वकः	पण्दवड	प्हानो
कृष्णः	कण्ठ	कहान
(ययम्)	तुम्हे	सहमे
(युष्मदीयकं)	² तुम्हारवं	सहमारुं

(From original simple (non-conjunct) हकार)

प्राणुणः	प्राहुणउ	प्हरूणो
भगिनी	बहिणी	ब्हन
कथयति	कहइ	कह
वदति	वहइ	वह
वेध	वेहु	व्हे (= a hole)
(त्वदीयकं)	² तुद्दारवं	सद्दारुं
(मदीयकं)	² मद्दारवं	सद्दारुं
वितस्तिः	विहत्थी	व्हैत्य
महत् (+ क) (महत्कं)	महन्तवं	म्होडुं ³
	वहिल्लवं (<i>Ditya</i>)	व्हडिं
शिथिलकं	सिहिलवं ⁴	सहडिं

is actually given as an instance of श्लोष. Thus it would seem that both सण्ड and ण्ड are recognised words, the principle of उभयप्राप्तौ यथादर्शने लोपः and that too some times alternately (पर्यायेण)-as in द्वारं-दार्-वारं stated in the gloss on VIII-11-79, being applicable in this case also. ण्ड is actually used in *Karpūra-Manjarī*, ण्डभं प्दानयोत्त । विमुण्दि तगुलट्टीचगिमलगिमं अ ॥ (Act II, St. 24). ण्ड is also used in the same play at two other places III-28 and IV-8.

2. See Si-Hē. VIII-14-434.

3. For a detailed discussion on this word See Appendix A, where I have examined and answered Mr. K H Dhruva's arguments in favour of मोडु.

4. According to Si-Hē. VIII-i-215 it should be सिडिलवं. But the general rule about थ being changed to ह must have prevailed at some time or other, and we have to trace सहडि from the form so derived.

शिथिल means "slack", "loose", what is slack or loose is easy, hence, the word सहडि meaning "easy" is traceable in sense also from शिथिल.

Skṛ	Pr or Apabhṛ	Guj
वह्मक	वह्मउ (वह्मअउ, वह्मउ)	व्हाळो
वह्म	वह्मदु	व्हालम, वाळम
कक्षोणि	कक्षोणी	कक्षणी, कक्षणी optionally
विभानर	विधानउ	व्हाथु

सकीर्णहकार

(Original हकार—part of a conjunct)

Skṛ	Pr or Apabhṛ	Guj
उष्णक	उष्मउ	ह्नु
वय	⁵ अम्हे, अम्हो	हमे-हमो
अस्मदीयक	अस्मारउ	हमारुं
मीष्म	गिष्म	घीम ⁶

(Original हकार a non conjunct)

अधुना	अधुणा (हउणा, हवणा)	हमणां
गर्दभकक	गरहउ	गघेदो
गर्दभक	गरहउ	गक्षो
मानृगृह	⁷ माइहउ (मइहउ, महिअर)	महियर
महिषी	महिसी (मइसी, मइसी)	मेश ⁸
द्रव	द्रहउ	धरो
समहव	समहउ	सघरो (=सचय; collection)
महण	महथु	घरण
महण	महथु-घयण	घन (=intoxication)

Dr Sir R G Bhandarkar derives रह्म from घृष्म (Skṛ) through the व्यत्यय process (metathesis)—See his Lectures P 190 That derivation leaves the विवृत्त र्ध unaccounted for unless we artificially import an र्ध, for which there is no occasion in view of the natural derivation from शिथिल

5 Si-IIe-VIII-ii-106

6 “घीम रमरी”, “घीमनो साहू” are expressions known as connected with Holi festivities Instead of *Vasaṭa Grīhama* is used here

7 Si-IIe-VIII-i-135

8 मइ-वै+ह=मै

Skr.	Pr. or Apabh.	Guj.
गोधूमः	गोहूख (गोहूख, गोहूँख)	घउं
गभीरकं	गहीरउं	घेनुं
गोषा	गोहा	घो
अग्रहकं	अग्रहउं	अघरुं(=difficult)
गृहीतककः	गहिपलउ (घपलउ) ⁹	घलो
फटादिका	फडादिआ	फडाई ¹⁰
(<i>Dīṭya</i>)	पुप्ता (पूफा-पूहा; छआ-छई)	फोई(=father's sister)

(हकार existing as the aspirate element in a class aspirate.)

अष्टादश	अट्टारह (अटारह, हटार)	हराड (by व्यत्यय)
बान्धवः	बान्धवु	भाण्डु
जरठकः	जरठउ (गरदउ, गरदो) ¹¹	घरडो-घपडो
सौरभं	(direct सौरभ)	सोडम ¹²
(<i>Dīṭya</i>)	ओजसरी (=अन्त्रायरणं)	होजरी
(<i>Dīṭya</i>)	ओडूण (कं)	होडणुं, होयणुं

9. Cf. *Vasanta-Vilasa* (V. S. 1508)

इम देखी रिखि कामनी कामिनी किनरकंठि । नेहगहेली म मानिनी माननी मूकइ गंठि ॥

नेहगहेली-स्नेहयी घहेली—"possessed" (by love), therefore, mad; cf. Skr. मरत = आविष्ट, possessed.

Cf. also *Kānhaḍadē-Prabandha* (V. S. 1512)

राउ कर्णदे गहिलु घपु (Khaṇḍa I, St. 23)

In the opening portion of Lecture IV, Section I, I have traced घलो from गृहीतः through the steps घहलो, घयलो. (See P. 23 *supra*). This need not be regarded as conflicting with the present analysis. Both are alternative possibilities. The रु termination in Gujarātī can be traced to the Apabhramśa termination रुल, which takes the place of the क termination. (Si-Hē-VIII-iv-429.)

10. Not from वषध् (Skr.) कड़ (Pr), because फडाई is mainly used for frying things in, not for boiling them; (वषध् = to boil).

11. See instance in the quotation, *supra* P. 108, n. 53, to which may be added the following:— गरदा माईबाप घरि होइ

(*Rūlmāṅgada-Kāthā* by Mandana, V. S. 1574, date of copy).

12. र changed to ड; then ड+ह=ढ; the व left from म is changed to ष and then to म

[The *Dēśī nāmā-mālā* I, 155 has ओढुण=उत्तरीयम्. In *Varga VI*. 72 होरण is given in the sense of वस्त्र. If this latter word is accepted as the source word of होयण, this instance will have to be excluded. But looking to the meaning (उत्तरीय, i. e. a cloth used as a wrap over the body, a specific sense and not a general one as in वस्त्र) and to the fact that होडवु is a verb in G. and that there is a र, not a ढ, in होरण, while होडवु has a ढ, I prefer the derivation from ओढुण.

होडवु must be a verb made from the noun; or there may have been a root like ओढ् in some *Dēśya* language.]

(क) — (b) — हकार shifted towards the end of a word.

(हकार a non-conjunct in original).

Skr.	Pr. or Ap.	Guj.
कथितकं	कहिदउं (कीचउं)	कीधुं
पृथुः	पहुंकु (पउंखु)	पूँख पाल (optionally)
प्रत्यभिज्ञानं	पद्यहिआण ^{1 3}	पीछाण, पिछाण
अभिज्ञान	अहिण्णाण (अहिनाण-अइह्नाण) ^{1 4}	अँषाण

13. पद्यिचमाण (by व्यत्यय); पद्यिचाण (द्वुतर अकारलोप); पद्यिछाण (ह shifted towards the end); पीछाण.

Hindī has पीछाण, see Dr Bhāndārkar's *Philological Lectures*, P. 196. He regards पद्यिचाण (ना) as Hindī.

14. ह् + न become थ, the process is this, -न, which consists of a nasal and a nasality, becomes nasalized ढ (ँढ) and ह् + ढ become थ; and thus थ. (See the *utsarga* about nasals below).

The word is found in the form of अहिनाण in

(a) *Sūta-karṇa* by Karmapa Mantri (V. S. 1526),

राम भणइ अहिनाण कलसीइ सीतलगां य सचां;

(b) *Vimala-prabandha* (V. S. 1568),

एणि परि बोद्ध्यां अहिनाण (IX, 29);

(c) *Sālavatī-uo-Rāsa* (V. S. 1700),

(1) अहिनाणी विदुनामनी (*Khanda V-ix dūho 1*);

(अहिनाणी is feminine here).

(2) ओढखियो अहिनाण, हो पयी मारा (*Khanda V-I-iv-1*)

(3) साइ अहिनाणे ओढखियो पनि (*Khanda V-I-viii 11*)

Preception —

पृथुवा

पहुआ

पहुवा

(Here the ह remains unmoved)

[Notes —

(1) It will be observed in the above instances that generally in the originals the ह is situated in the second *struti* (syllable) of the words, consequently the ह in going towards the beginning, of necessity, mixes with the first syllable either as a conjunct or as a संकीर्ण sound an infusion. The only exceptions are —

गरुडहउ, गरुहु, माहुहु, पहाही, सोरभ

(सप्रहउ and अप्रहउ are only apparent exceptions, for the स and अ, as prefixes, are detachable elements and the म in each begins the पद. If, however, the whole word is taken together the reason for ह not going up to the first syllable is clear ह is caught up by ग as the two (ग and ह) are phonetically very kindred and so its further progress is arrested. In these words the ह does not move as far as the first *struti*, but gets caught in the second *struti* and establishes itself there in a complete fusion with the original letter of that *struti*, and so ग+ह become घ ह+ह become द् ह+ह also become द् and इ+ह necessarily become इ+ह: e हि

(2) यहुहुउ and गरुहुउ fare differently from the above the ह travels up to the first *struti* and mixes with व into व्ह and with ग into घ. The reason is that in each case the ह is attracted and caught up by such letter as is phonetically nearest in affinity to it: व in स्थान or प्रयत्न or both. This explains the apparent unevenness of the phenomenon

(The *Pr Kāvya Mālā* edition is obviously in error in printing माहु सदीनाणे in this last instance)

To this may be added *Bhāṣana Kālambari Pīṭhādiga* XXIV, 1 66, वाद्वरीह ने कहा ते कहिछि अहिनाग, but I hesitate because it is an arbitrary emendation of the original text मिथान (? मिथान = अथवा) by the editor, Mr K H Dhruva. It may or may not be justifiable

(3) Another noteworthy feature is that wherever there is a सवलसंयोग formed by the ह्, the shifting of

The shifting of the ह् is accompanied by a lengthening of the preceding vowel, if the conjunct is strong.

the ह् is accompanied by a lengthening of the preceding vowel: लहृणं-नहृनं-न्दाहं; whereas if the ह् forms a निर्बलसंयोग, no such process follows: अहो-हमे, not हामे.

I have adverted to this phenomenon in my last lecture (Lecture III) under the head of *Balance of Quantity*, when laying down the general principles governing phonetic formations and mutations. (*Vide supra*, Pp. 100-101.)

In the Prākṛits and especially in Apabhraṃśa conjuncts of this nature involving a ह् in them were in very many cases निर्बलसंयोगs. This is indicated by the metrical quantity of the syllable preceding the conjunct in lines like the following:—

दिक्खि अहारा कंठ

(Si-Hê-VIII-iv-434.)

In old Gujarātī also this weak conjunct is noticeable even in

Conjunct weak even in tatsama words in old Gujarātī.

tatsama words, which may, in so far, be regarded as tadbhava.—

सरवरूपि हरि रंगि राचि
वृंदावनि गोपी मध्य नाचि

साचो सोहि ब्रह्मचारी

(From a work of Padmanābha; copy written in V.S. 1715, Gujarāt Śātī Patra Vol. XII, May.)

Here the ए in मध्य is लघुप्रत्यय and so ह्य is a weak conjunct. But the instance for our purpose here is the weak conjunct छ in ब्रह्मचारी, as the line would not scan metrically correct if the छ were taken as a strong conjunct. Even at present ब्रह्मचारी is pronounced with a weak छ colloquially, and in one of the songs sung by Nāgar women at the thread ceremony of a boy we find a similar weak conjunct:

“ ब्रह्मचार टोपी कपड़ा भरी ”

“ लीली टोपी ब्रह्मचार भत भरी.

Several instances of the weak conjunct are found in Bhīma Kavi's *Harī Iṣṭā* (V. S. 1574, date of copy of the Manuscript) Kaṣṭh VIII:—

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-------------|
| (1) | भणइ प्रल्हाद अछइ एक सत्र । | |
| | सहो भयइ ते कसत्र | (Stanza 32) |
| (2) | छथ उपदेश कट्ट तह्य तेह । | (Stanza 33) |
| (3) | नील छह्यारी मानइ नही | (Stanza 48) |
| (4) | भणइ प्रल्हाद कट्ट एक बात | (Stanza 51) |
| (5) | विरद तझारूं साचूं सही | (Stanza 58) |

The conjuncts in black type in these instances are निर्बलसंयोगः, as the *chopāi* metre will show.

By way of contrast we find in this very same work (the same *Kaṣṭh*) the word प्रल्हाद with सहा treated as a strong conjunct too:—

- | | |
|--|----------|
| तेदनी नीति भणइ प्रल्हाद | (St. 29) |
| भणि प्रल्हाद पिता अवधारि | (St. 52) |
| ¹⁵ किहां ताहारु स्वामी प्रल्हाद | (St. 54) |
| मनसा हरि ध्याई प्रल्हाद | (St. 58) |

It seems that conjuncts of this nature were dealt with as strong or weak indifferently as suited the metrical convenience of the poet. However, the instances are quoted by me to show that this state of things evidences the prevalence of the weak conjunct.

[Hemachandra allows this license in favor of conjuncts containing **इ** and **हृ** in *Prākṛit* and even in *Sanskṛit*. See his *Chhandonūsāna*, I-6 and gloss thereon. See *infra*, this Lecture, *Utsarga* XVII, Note, for fuller statement.]

15. The words किहां and ताहारु read in this line as कयहां and तहान; the metre shows that. It is the loose way of spelling the aspirated syllables that is responsible for the apparent increase in syllables. For further treatment of this point see, a few pages below, the discussion on लघुप्रत्यय हकार and प्राणध्वनि.

- (4) There are indications in Prakrit of the process of *ह* going up to the beginning of a word. As a rule

In Prakrit the ह as a rule, moves towards the end but some exceptions anticipate the Gtj arāṭi process

in Prakrit the *ह* moves towards the end—*स्नान-ण्ढाण कृष्ण-कण्ढो, शृङ्ग-लण्ढ-सण्ढ, अस्मद्-अण्ढे, युष्मद्-तुम्ह* etc, here the *स्यानी* (i.e. the original of the *हकार*) viz *म्* and *प्* (pure or included in *ङ*) precede the final letters in the Sanskrit originals but in Prakrit the *ह* comes at the end (i.e. before the vowel of course) in its own syllable. If the *ह* is an unconjunct evolute it stays in the *locus* of its original e.g. *यम् लहो छल-छह, आभीर-आहीरो वल्लभ-वल्लहो*, etc

But there is one exception of one kind and another of an opposite kind in one the *ह* moves towards the beginning, in the other quite towards the end—

- (a) *गृह-घर* here (as I have already shown before¹⁶) although Hemachandra has denoted *घर* as a ready-made *ādeśa* of *गृह* (*Si H VIII n 144*) the real phonetic process involves the movement of the *ह* towards the beginning¹⁷

- (b) *घन्ति-वहद्*, and also alternately *गदद्* (*Si Hc VIII n 112*) Here too in the latter form although Hemachandra gives it as a ready-made *ādeśa* the real phonetic course is the *विच्छेद* of the *ह* in *घ*, its march downwards towards the end, and final coalescence with the *अल्पप्राण ह* resulting in the class aspirate, *ट*

- (5) The nature of *संसृष्टि* and *सकर* may be noted here *संसृष्टि-* is a condition of a conjunct of *ह*, with another
संसृष्टि a l सकर, their native lescribe l unaspirated consonant wherein both members remain without fusion into a class aspirate
 This is clear from the definition already given by me in the *संज्ञाप्रकरण* at the opening of the first

¹⁶ See *supra* Lecture III, last page last foot-note

¹⁷ For a statement of reasons for assigning the beginning of a word as the place for this shifting of *ह* see Appendix B to this Lecture

section of this Lecture. The reason why there is no fusion into a class aspirate is to be found in the fact that the स्थान and प्रयत्न of हृ and the conjoined unaspirated consonant are so uncongenial mutually as to prevent such a result. When there is a close phonetic affinity, as in the case of ग् and हृ, the condition of संसृष्टि is transcended and we have संकर. संकर-is a complete fusion of the हृ with the conjoined letter. It covers two kinds of cases:—

(1) संकर with a consonant,

and (2) संकर with a vowel.

(1) With a consonant—Only in the case of ग्+हृ is this संकर possible, as a rule, because, as already stated, their phonetic affinity is extremely close. So we have

गभीरकं—गहीरकं—घेरुं

ग्रहणं—ग्रहणं—घनं; etc. etc..

In rare cases there is a संकर between घ् and हृ, or द् and हृ, or च् and हृ; e. g.

बन्धु-भाण्डु; अण्ड-अभूज; महिषी-भेश; गर्दभक-गधो; गर्दभक-गधेडो;
द्रहक-धरो; अभिज्ञान-अंधाण; भगिनीपति-बहिणीरई-बन्धेवी(G.); बंधेरी
(Surati Guj.); प्रत्यभिज्ञान-पिछाण.

[Such संकर is sometimes found in the Apabhramśa and Prākṛit stages even: (Skr.) संस्मरति, (Pr.) संमरह्, (Ap.) संमरह्, *Vide Sr-III-VIII-iv-412*. जिम्हा (Pr.) *Sr-III-VIII-ii-57*, as indicated at P. 90, *supra*.

संकर of हृ found in the Apabhramśa stage sometimes, and occasionally in Sanskrit, in certain forms, e. g. अघोक्, घुमुना, et cet..

The same principle is exemplified in post-Apabhramśa to Gujarātī transition in G.

गभराउ which appears as गन्हरु in *Silalati-no-Rāsa* (V. S. 1700), P. 227 XII, at. 4 (Pr. *Kārya-mālā* edition). “चन्द्रगुप्त अति गन्धर्वो.”

A minute indication of the germ-stage of this phonetic principle can be seen even in the earlier stages, i. e. in Sanskrit, in forms

like *अपोः*, *घोषि* (from *दुह*), *बभ्रुत्सा* (from *ब्रु*), where the *ह* inherent in the *घ* of *दुघ* (*दोघ*) and in the *घ* of *ब्रुघ*, moves to the beginning and gets completely fused together with *द* into *घ* and with *ब* into *भ*. Similar is the case in *जिघृक्ष* (from *घृह*).¹⁸]

Otherwise, we have *समृष्टि* e g

वधिरव — *वर्द्धो*, *भगिनी* — *वर्द्धन*, and the like.

समृष्टि may be likened to a mechanical mixture while *संकर* to a chemical combination. In the latter a set of circumstances comes in, like a combining electric current or the like, and we have the fusion. This will account for variants like *वर्द्धो* and *भाण्ड*. What the combining circumstances are may sometimes be difficult to discover. But an attempt to sound *व्हाण्ड* will show the phonetic

18 Dr P D Gune (in his Introduction to Comparative Philology P 35) sees in these phonetic changes an indication

The orthodox explanation of this phenomenon viz that roots like वृष्, वृध्, दह् &c were originally मुष्, मध्, धह् &c, examined and dissent ed from

that the roots beginning with a mere medial (*ग, ब, द*) must have originally begun with a medial aspirate which was displaced before the following medial aspirate or *ह* in the body of the word. He suggests that the roots *वृष्, वृध्, दम्, दह्*, must have originally been *मुष्, मध्, धम्, धह्*. In addition to the indication from grammatical forms

displaying the medial aspirate (*अभौसीव* (*वृष्*), *अमानवीव* (*वृध्*), and the like), his other grounds for this theory are —

- (a) Original medial aspirates are always in Greek changed to tenue aspirates (Skr) नमस्, (Gr) *nefos* (Skr) आतृ, (Gr) *frator* (Skr) धर्षति, (Gr) *tharsos* (Skr) मधु, (Gr) *methu*
- (b) Similarly in Latin, the Sanskrit *मरति* becomes *fero*, *भवति* is *fuam*, and so forth
- (c) Further, in Latin the tenue aspirate representing the original medial aspirate is turned into a simple medial between two words, (Skr) वृष्यम्, (Lat) *u b*, (Skr) रुषि, (Lat) *rubros* (Skr) इष् (original of इह्), (Lat) *ibi*, (Skr) नमस् (Lat) *nebul*.
- (d) Conversely, the tenue aspirate Latin representative of the original aspirate finds in Sanskrit a pure medial to represent it Lat *for-es* Skr *दा*, Lat *fortis*, Skr *दह*, Lat of *fendi* mentum, Skr *वध*

impossibility and the necessity of an instantaneous fusion into भाण्ड. The distinction presented by अभृज and वृजे (Sk. वृध्यते, Pr. वृज्जइ)-वृचद वाई नव वृजे (*Dhīro Bhagat*)-is noteworthy: in one case there is the shifting of the ह्र and संकर, in the other the ह्र stands without throwing off the aspiration; but once the ह्र is thrown off and shifted, the वृ and ह्र unite in a संकर, because अवृज is difficult to pronounce, वृ being medial in situation.

Māravādi has धारो for त्धारो, no doubt; but it does not affect the actual fact of वृ+ह्र remaining in a संमृष्टि in Gujarātī.

(2) (संकर of ह्र) with a vowel.

The only possible way for a consonant to unite with a vowel is for it to precede the vowel and thus the two must

Therefore, he concludes, the word दृढ, दार, दन्ध must have been originally धृढ, धार, मन्ध, that the roots गृध्, धृध्, बध्, दम्, दह्, &c. must have originally been घृध्, मुध्, मध्, धम्, पध् these he compares with Goth *gredus*, Eng. greed, Goth. *bindan*, Ger. *biēten*; Germ *binden*, Arm *datel*; Goth. *dag*, Eng. *day*, and says their initials correspond to an original medial aspirate.

Unless Dr. Guṇē points out actual words like मुध्, मध् &c. and *ghreeden, bhinden, &c.* it is clear that he is making a mere conjecture in this matter for which there is hardly any strong foundation. At any rate, apparently exceptional forms like अमौरसीत्, अमानसीत्, can be better explained by the principle of the shifting of the ह्र inherent in the वृ &c. to the beginning and getting merged by the process of संकर with the initial वृ &c. into मृ &c.

A better explanation suggested viz. the shifting of the ह्र to the beginning & getting merged with the initial consonant, the process being the result of the loss of the ह्र on account of sandhi.

What is most significant is that the change of the unaspirated mediae into aspirated medial in धृध्, दन्ध, etc. occurs only when the final aspirates turn into unaspirates अमौरसीत्, अमानसीत्, &c. get the वृ turned to मृ only when their final वृ &c. turns into दृ. Thus the aspiration of the initial does not occur independently, in fact it is dependent on the loss of aspiration of the final, which change is inevitable in the contact with the ह्र of सीत् and the like compelling the वृ &c. to turn into दृ &c., as a phonetic necessity. This is a clear indication of the fact that the aspirate element moves from the final letter into the initial and thus secures its aspiration.

remain mutually fused together. Thus (Skr.) अयुना-(Pr.) अहुणा-ह्+अङ्गा, हङ्गा-(G.) हवणां, हमणां. Some people in their desire to denounce the system of using ह in such words as हमे, हमारे, &c., forget the weak nature of ह and so sound it strong, which is of course wrong.

[Kavi Narmadāśankar at one¹⁹ time used to combine अ and ह in the impossible form अह (as अहमे &c.) the vowel preceding the ह and written as a half letter in a conjunct. The absurdity of this is obvious, as a half vowel is a physical and phonetic impossibility.]

Presumably this theory of old time Indo-European roots like अयु, मयु, &c. is not an invention of Dr Gunc's, but is shared by him with earlier scholars Macdonell, (*Vedic Grammar for Students*) § 55 (P 39), regarding this aspiration of the initial consonants of roots as a compensation for the loss of aspiration of the final consonants would at first seem to support my view but his note 1 on this statement suggests the opposite theory, he says it is not really compensation but the survival of the original initial aspiration of such roots, which was lost owing to the avoidance of an aspirate at the beginning and end of the same syllable and hence, he holds, the initial returns when the final aspirate disappears. I may therefore be perhaps considered as starting a heresy in rejecting the orthodox theory and accounting for the assumed initial aspirates in the above manner. But I expect my theory to be judged on its merits, not on prepossessions and mere adherence to orthodox views.

I would suggest the theory as under that in the parent Aryan there were the following distinguishable classes of roots —

- (a) roots like अयु (इय) for which we have clear indications in forms like अयान, not explicable otherwise than on the theory of an initial aspirated medial in the root state, also roots which satisfy the test of the Indo Germanic phonetic equivalents,
- and (b) Roots like अयु, मयु &c. which, as I say, alter the initial consonant into a corresponding aspirate simply in obedience to the law of moving the aspiration from the end to the beginning under certain circumstances, and had therefore no such aspirated first consonant in the root stage

19. It must be said to the thinking Kavi's credit that, at a later stage, he gave up the absurd symbol and resorted to a diacritical dot under the vowel to mark the aspiration अमे.

It will be seen from the above remarks that the हकार in a state of संकर is so interfused as to lead some people to regard it, not as an aspirate consonant but, as a mere aspiration pervading the adjacent vowel. Mr. Kṛṣṇaśastrya holds such a view and calls the aspirate a प्राणध्वनि, (See his *Vāgyāpāra*, Appendix II, Pp. 23-24); and recommends the symbol of a mere dot below the aspirated syllable, thus: वेन, अमे, etc., instead of the manifest ह as व्हन, हमे &c.. However, we have only to look at instances like घेर, घट्ट, घो, etc., wherein the ह् is undoubtedly present in a संकीर्ण state with ए, and not as a mere प्राणध्वनि, and we shall be convinced of the flaw in the प्राणध्वनि theory. Consistency with that theory would demand writing गेर, गट्ट, गो instead of घेर, घट्ट, घो,—but no one would be prepared to go to that^o length,—not even Mr. K. H. Dhruva himself.

As I perceive the phonetic conditions in this question, the aspiration falls under three distinct descriptions.—

- (1) Strong, गुरुप्रयत्न, as in हर्ष, बहन, दहन etc.
- (2) Weak, लघुप्रयत्न, as in हमे, हमार, म्होट्ट, व्हन, etc.
- and (3) Faint, in the form of a प्राणध्वनि, as when the लघुप्रयत्न ह् sound, situated in a distant, unaccented, part of a word is in a condition of getting worn out after passing through the प्राणध्वनि stage; as in सरजनहार-सरजनार-सरजनार.

20. Those who are opposed to the writing of the लघुप्रयत्न हकार use the specious argument that in words like व्हलि, व्हन, the sounds ought to result in फ, भ्, and not remain as व्ह, व्ह. It may be claimed in favour of the प्राणध्वनि theory, that it would satisfactorily dispose of this argument, for the aspiration being merely a faint fusion in the adjacent vowel (घो, व्हन), it cannot affect the consonants in the manner indicated so as to turn the प, ब् into फ, भ्. But the cases of words like घेर, घट्ट, घो, exclude the possibility of the प्राणध्वनि theory and thus the explanation of प् + ह् and ब् + ह् not resulting into फ, भ् must be sought for elsewhere. We find it in the fact that difference in स्थान and प्रयत्न prevent such merging into class aspirates, प् + ह्, having common स्थान and प्रयत्न in a very great degree, inevitably fuse into फ, where as प् + ह्, ब् + ह् do not do fuse.

The present day forms *હેનું, રહેને, ન્હાનું* etc. are represented in old Gujarātī works by such forms as *તેહનું, નાહાનું* etc. which, though apparently longer in syllabic quantity, are really of the same quantity as the former, a fact proved by metrical test. This shows the rationality of the finally evolved forms. A few extracts from an old work will illustrate my remark; I take them from Bhīma Kavi's *Harī-Līlā, -Shodasa Kālā* (year of copy, V. S. 1574; year of composition²¹ V. S. 1541).—

Kālā VIII —

- (1) પહનઈ ટાંસી લાગી નહીં । (St. 27)
- (2) એકવાર સુની નેસાલ ।
તેમ્યાં સઘઢ્યાં નાહાનાં ચાલ । (St. 30)
- (3) કિહાં તાહારુ સ્વામી પ્રલ્હાદ ।
ગાદિ કરિનઈ તેહનઈ સાદ । (St. 54)
- (4) માહારુ સ્વામી જે મડિ વહુ । (St. 54)
- (5) તાહારુ સ્વામી સવલ આપારિ । (St. 58)

The metre here is *chopāi*, and a reading of the lines in that metre will at once show that the words printed black read as if they were spelt *હેનનું, ન્હાનાં, વધ્યાં, રહાર, રહેનનું, મ્હાર, રહાર*. This indicates distinctly the situation of the *હ* in the beginning of words; in other words, although the *હ* was represented as separate in writing, it was sounded with the initial syllable. This system of writing can be seen in vogue over a long period before and after the time of *Harī-Līlā*.

21. A Ms. lent to me by Mr. Hīrālāl T. Pārekhi, B. A. Asst. Secretary Gujarāt Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, has V. S. 1574 as the year in which it was copied. In the concluding part the year of composition is given as under —

સવત ૧૫ સ્ત્રી વીસ । × > > ઉત્તમ ઉત્તર અયન વિશેષ । કતુ વસન સકાન્તિ મેષ ॥

The blank here is filled up by the reading in the *Brīhat Kāya-dohana*, IV: વર્ષ એક ઉપર ચ વીસ ॥ (ચાલીસ, as another Ms. of the same poet's *Prabodha-Prakāśa* written in V. S. 1575 has it). Vraja-līl Śāstri gives V. S. 1540 as the year of composition of *Harī-Līlā* (Vide his *Gujarātī Bhāṣakośa Itihāsa*, P. 65)

In one rare instance I find the ह conjoined with its related consonant just as I contend it should be written:

लई हेमनी कांकरी मात म्होदी (*Dasama Slandha*, by Keśava Hridē-ram; composed in V. S. 1529, copy written in V. S. 1787.)

The metre here is *bhujangi* and म्होदी fits properly into the metrical scheme. In other places in the same work the word is written मोहोदं, the ह kept ununited.

There is a unique backward movement of ह which is like involution rather than evolution, a reverse process whereby ह is changed into a class aspirate. I have come across only one instance of this: गुफा (G.)-गुहा (Skr.). This word is found, in addition to our present day Gujarātī, in old works also:—

(1) गव्हर गुफा शरीखुं वयण।

(Bhima Kavi's²² *Harī-Līlā*, VIII-61)

(2) गोमट गुप गुफा मांदि

(*Mūdharaṇala Dodhala Prabandha* V. S. 1584, by Gaṇapati; *Anga* VIII, St. 108).

This word, गुफा, may seem to be a Persian word; but there is hardly any reason to doubt its origin from Sanskrit, गुहा. The only peculiarity here is that the ह is changed to फ, whereas generally a फ in Sanskrit is changed to ह. (*Si-Hi*-VIII-i-236). There is no such word in Sanskrit as गुफा, nor is the root गुप् (गुम्) connected in sense with Sanskrit गुहा, which is from गुह् = to hide, गुहा being "a hiding place" and therefore "a cave." Could it be that गुप्²³ was an old Sanskrit root long lost even in Vedic times?

22. Bhima has this word (गुफा) also in his *Prabodha Pralāsa* (V. S. 1546), *Pralāsa* iii, sloka 6.

23. The root उप्="protect," may possibly be allied to such a उप्.

The only hitch, and apparently a difficult one, is that उप् itself is regarded as a secondary root, derived from गोपाय् which is apparently regarded as a denominative root from गोप (= a cowherd)-गो (= a cow) +पा (= to protect). But, on the other hand, may it not be suggested that गोप (= a cowherd) was itself really from उप् (= to protect) and

This is not unlikely and such cases of reflex process are not unknown. For, it may be safely asserted as a tenable theory, that *ḥ* was evolved as a separate letter out of the class aspirates, in early times no doubt, which predominated in Vedic times, and even during those days roots ending in *ḥ* were traceable to those ending in a class aspirate, but which were lost to the language even then. Compare *गृह्* Vedic *गृह्णाति*, for which the classical root is

subsequently artificially derived from *ग्रे+पा* *गोपाय्* being really an irregular formation? For of the five roots, *गृप्*, *धृप्*, *विच्छ्*, *पण्* and *पन्*, mentioned by Pāṇini in III-1-28, as taking on *अप्*, only *गोपाय्* has the plausible analysis *ग्रे+पा*, and *विच्छ्* is impossible to account for even with a noun basis as *धृप्* and *पण्* may be which either are not capable of the splitting up like *ग्रे+पा*. I am aware that *गृप्* is a later Vedic root, though not quite post Vedic. It occurs but once in a late hymn of the VIIth Mandala and but twice in the Xth Mandala of R̥gveda Samhitā (See *Vedic Grammar* by A. A. Mac Donell, P. 358, n. 13). But this fact need not interfere with the possible course of *गृप्* being at some stage evolved out of the very old possible root *गृष्*. I speak with great diffidence and reservation, but I would ask—Is it not permissible to regard the theory that *गोपाय्* is a denominative verb from *गोप* (derived from *ग्रे+पा*) as a misconception?

The reasons are —

- (1) The difficulty of similarly accounting for the other roots in the same group, viz *धृप्*, *विच्छ्*, *पण्*, *पन्*, as already just above indicated. I know *पणि* is believed to designate (1) the Parnians and then (2) traders (cf *वणिक्* as possibly evolved from *पणि*) (See *Vedic Index* Vol. I, 471-472) and *विच्छाय्* may conceivably be traced to *वि+छाय* (=shade) —for a man who goes onward in the journey first leaves the shade. But these considerations do not come into direct conflict with my contention viz that they do not admit of the splitting up like *ग्रे+पा*,
- (2) The word *गोपयि* furnishes an indirect analogy and illustration of the artificial splitting up which I discover in *गोप* (*ग्रे+पा*) which really can be referred to *गृप्* (*गृप्+घञ्* termination). *गोपयि* (RV. I, 19-1) is taken by Yāska and Śaṅkara to mean *drinking of Sōma*, by Max Müller to mean

गृह्, गृह्णाति²⁴ Evidence of this can be detected in certain verbal forms in classical Sanskrit which before certain letters change the final $\sqrt{\text{r}}$ of roots into class aspirates, thus pointing to

a draught of milk, (गो+पिय), while Roth (Nirukta, Notes P. 144) favors the sense "protection" (which would be from गृप्=to protect, without any splitting up into गो+पिय) Max-Muller does take notice of this sense (protection) also, but inclines in favour of the meaning, a draught of milk simply because पिय has clearly the sense of "drinking" in सोमपिय (RV I 51, 7). But it may be answered

- (a) That पिय may be from पा, to drink, in सोमपिय, and yet with equal force गोपिय may be derived from गृप् by the application of the same termination, and that the error is due to external similarity only, and
- (1) Max Muller himself recognizes the sense "protection" for गोपिय in RV. X-77, 7.

24 Āptē in his Sanskrit English Dictionary does not give गृम् as a Vedic root but he gives गृम्=(Vedic) a house गृमे Ved "grasping", गृमीत adjective 1 seized, 2 impregnated. M Williams gives "गृम् (from गृह्) p f Ved holding, grasping, grasp, hold" also "गृमीत m f n=seized" It would seem that गृमीत (classical गृहीत) must really be a past participle of गृम्, and not a pure adjective गृम् must have meant "to take", as also "to bear in the womb" from which came गर्भ, although Āptē gives गृ+मन् Unādi, 3-152 But गृमीत would indicate here too the radical existence of the म् in the body of the root, and this गृ+मन् must have been a later attempt to explain the म् in गर्भ, long after the root गृम् was lost even in Vedic times or soon after whereas the results of गृह् and गृम् remained in the nouns गृह and गर्भ, just as मिह् and मिष् have left मेहन and मेघ, though here again Āptē explains मेघ by मिह्+घन् and कुस्वन् The past participle of मिह् is मीढ which would point to an old root मिह्, and not मिष्, or it may be, as the word मेघ shows, that मिष् must be an oldest root, and मीढ may have been formed on the analogy of लीढ M Williams gives मेघ as derived from मिष्, and gives "मिष्=rt मिह्-only in निमेषमान-ना न (cf Mēgha) Ved emitting moisture, and quotes from Sīyana "न्यथि भवाद्गुहा नै वृष्टदृक्कानि सिचद्, sprinkling down rain water"

old, long obsolete, roots ending in such class aspirates, roots unknown to the oldest literature. Thus:—

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) दुह्+क—दुग्धं; | here दुघ्+त. ²⁵ |
| (2) लिह्+क—लीदं; | here लिद्+त. |
| (3) मिह्+क—मीदं; | here मिद्+त. |
| (4) नह्+क—नदं; | here नध्+त. |
| (5) दिह्+क—दिग्धं; | here दिघ्+त. |
| (6) दह्+क—दग्धं; | here दघ्+त. |
| (7) रुह्+क—रुदं; | here रुद्+त. |
| (8) वह्+क—वदं; | here वद्+त. ²⁶ |

Nirukta, x-23 gives -गर्भो गुभेर्गुणात्यये गिरयनर्भानिति वा । (गुणाति seems a mislection for ^(a)गुह्णाति). Nirukta VII-26 has अगुह्णत rendered into अगुह्णत by Yāska.

The St. Petersburg Lexicon (Bohtlingk and Roth, -Sanskrit-Worterbuch) gives: गुभ् (=यम्=यद्); also गुभित partic.-past pass.; -not an adjective.

(a) [I am unexpectedly supported in this conjecture of mine by Roth -

"Statt *grñātjarte* the scheint gelesen werden zu müssen *गृह्णात्ययान्*"; (Note to Nirukta, X, 23, in Roth's Edition Pp. 140-1 of Notes).

("Instead of गुणात्यये it seems we are to read *गृह्णात्ययान्*." as translated kindly for me by Father Zimmermann of St. Xavier's College, Bombay).

Roth evidently goes a step further than I in reading अर्भान् for अर्भे and he seems right, for Yāska's remark further runs "यदाहि स्त्री गुणान् गृह्णाति गुणाध्याया गृह्णन्तेऽथ गर्भोभवति].

25. Cf. English *daughter*, M. E. *doghter*, *dohter*; A. S. *dohtor*, Zend, *dughdar*; Persian, *duhhtar*; which all indicate a *gh*, *lh*, which must have yielded the pure precipitate *h* subsequently. It need not be said that दुहितृ, *daughter*, is one who milks (दुह्-दीप्ति) the cow in the house-hold. She used to milk in the ancient family life.

26. Pāṇini has ह्रस्वः (Vii-ii-31) as a general rule and to modify that he gives दादेषोर्दोषः (VIII-ii-32), वा दृहमुहण्युहण्यहान् (VIII-ii-33) and नहो षः (VIII-ii-34).

Now, this व्यवस्था or arrangement may be all right for the

Similarly, a non-final ह् in some roots represents an original class aspirate in the older stage; thus, हन् has जघान in the reduplicated perfect and घातयति in the causal; this would indicate some such older root as घन्.

[Dr. Sir R. G. Bhândārkar barely indicates this process incidentally at P. 289 of his Lectures where he briefly states that the *h* in *traho*-tractum (Lat.) like the Sanskrit ह् stands for an original *gh*. Beames (Vol. I, P. 262) says:—

"This letter (i. e. ह्) in Sanskrit roots is often merely a softening of an aspirate (meaning, I believe, a class aspirate). ग्रह् is originally ग्रप्, ह् is भृ, हप्=भृप्, हृद्य probably from खर्द्, नह्=नय्, वह्=वय्, perhaps also वय्, रुह्=रुय्, रुह्=रय्."²⁷ Some of those older forms, as *grabh* and *bhri*, are preserved in the Vedas, and with regard to the others the analogy of forms in the cognate languages shows that the aspirate has been dropped, while in many it appears in various tenses of the verb."]

Thus it will be seen that the class aspirates in very remote times stood for the pure ह् of the later period, it being a subsequent evolution from the old world class aspirate.²⁸ And the

purposes of the *sūtra*-scheme, and was partly based on लक्ष्यदृष्टे, i. e. on facts found in current language. But the source of these variations can fairly be sought in obsolete roots with corresponding class aspirate endings.

मुग्ध-गूढ etc.—Would these alternative forms indicate मुघ् and मुद् &c. as old roots? It is not easy to decide, it is just possible that some of the alternative forms got currency by mere analogy. I am confirmed in this conjecture by Macdonell, § 13, last two sentences (P. 13). He says:—"The various origins of *h* led to a certain amount of confusion in the groups of forms from roots containing that sound. Thus beside *mugdha*, the phonetic past participle of *muh*, *to be confused*, appears *mūḍha* (AV.), *Leuclched*."

27. Some of these similarizations are dubious, e. g. वह्=वय्, रुह्=रय्, when we see them in the light of the past participial forms ऊढ and रुढ.

28. This theory may not be regarded as fanciful. Max Müller goes even so far as to believe that "there was a far far distant time

principle that history repeats itself can be seen at work during later linguistic evolution. For, this principle merely implies a general truth which means that, under a given set of circumstances the same or similar causes produce the same or similar

when the Aryan nations (if we may call them so) had no aspirates at all'

(*The Science of Language* Vol II, P 222)

An additional indication may be seen in the *g* in *tag* (Germ) allied to Skr दृक् (दृग्)

The theory about the class aspirates existing in the Parent Aryan without a separate sonant *h* is well recognized in philological circles

It may be further suggested here that at a period when the class aspirate had not turned into the pure aspirate *h*, the *h* of *प्रह* in *प्रह* had changed into *v* in some languages of the Western Section of the old Aryan stock for we find Ital *cava* (= cave, *प्रह*) from Lat *cavea* (from *cavus*=hollow, *cave* in the Etymological Dictionary of the English Language (Skeat) also *cavea* and *cavum*, *cavus*, *cava* in Smith's Latin English Dictionary this change of sense does not involve a great wrench) the English word *cave* itself presents this phonetic alliance The relation between *v* and *f* is well marked in English *give*, A S *gifan* Eng *live*, A S *līfian*, Eng *stere*, A S *sife* (Eng *sift*) Eng *drive*, A S *drifan* (Eng *drift*) Eng *thrive* M E *thrive*, *thrive*, (Eng *thrift*) similarly in transition from Latin into French and cognate languages and then English, *v* changes to *f* in L *brevis* It Sp Pt *breve* O F *brief*, *brief*, F *brief*, M L *brief*, *breif* While the relation between *l* and *g* (क and ग) is still more prominent cf Skr चन्द्रप्रह Gk Sandra-kuptos (Lottos), Skr प्रह Eng *yoke* Goth *juk*, Ger *joch*, &c though it must be noted that *g* becomes *l* intervocally only, and that an initial *g* turned to *l* would be unusual But the *g* of *प्रह* may well be regarded as uninitial from one point of view

My theory may receive further support in *kaof* (*ivasta*)=*kop* (Pehlavi)=*kuh* (Pers) all signifying 'a mountain and from 'a mountain to 'a cave is not a difficult or unnatural step by *lalshata* The *ivastan* *kaof* will furnish a link with the obsolete *प्रह*

(I am indebted for this valuable information regarding the Avasta and Pehlavi words to the courtesy of my friend Mr Behramgur Temuras Anklesaria of Santa Cruz Bombay)

I do not forget that phonetic laws are conditioned by the limits of time and place But when our theory goes far far back into a period

effects. This truth operates in all branches of human or even cosmic evolution. Consequently, in the branch of phonetics, i. e. linguistic evolution, what happened to the class aspirates in their passage from pre-Vedic and Vedic times to Vedic and post-Vedic and classical Sanskrit, viz. the precipitation of ह out of them, happened again in their passage from Sanskrit to Prākṛit; hence we have (Skr.) वः (Pr.) वट्, (Skr.) लाभः (Pr. and Apabhṛ.) लाहो-लाहट्, (Skr.) बधिरक (Apa.) बहिरउ, (Skr.) माघः (Pr.) माहो, (Skr.) नाथः (Pr.) नाहो, (Skr.) कथयति (Pr.) कहइ, (Skr.) पित्रकः (Ap.) पिहइउ, (G.) प्हेइ (Vide *Sr. III.* VIII-i-187 and 201); also फ to ह (*Śi. H.* VIII-i-236) as in कफोणिः (Skr.), बहोणी (Pr.), बहोणी-बहणी (G.); तलस्पर्शः (Skr.), तलपंसु (Apa.)-तलहंसु-तलअंसु-तळांस (G.) in the verb तळांसु (to stroke, especially as applied to the stroking of the soles of the feet) from the noun, तळांस, which as a noun is, of course, obsolete or unknown.

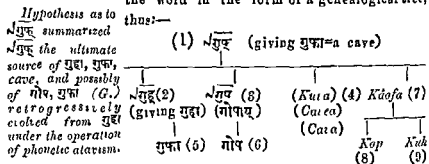
[This precipitation of the ह is further seen in the case of म् during the stage between Apabhramśa and Gujarati मध्ये (Skr.), मज्जे (Pr.), -(माझि M.)-माहि (Gaj)].

This examination of the general principle and its working through ages of linguistic evolution would seem to justify us in the theory of गुफ being an ancient word from which गुह (Skr.) was evolved. The only difficulty that comes in the way is that गुह from गुह would indicate गुह as an old form of गुह whereas here we take गुह as the old form of गुह. But a solution of this can be found in the possibility of there being two old forms गुह, as well as गुह, which is not inherently improbable, or it may be that गुह was the result of analogy with रुह and the like. But it is not where these limits of time and place are uncertain factors, we are not unjustified in taking the phonetic principles on purely acoustic grounds.

It may be pointed out with regard to the relation between ग and क noted just above, that गैः (Skr.) has a k in its counterparts in some languages of the Western Section, viz. coie (Eng.), ko, ku (MLG.), ko (LG). This would show that an initial ग also has क for its counterpart, and we need not resort to the roundabout method of taking the ग of चङ्गुम as constructively uninitial.

necessary to travel far into the field of conjecture; and so I stop where theory ends and conjecture begins.

To summarize the theory briefly, I would put the history of the word in the form of a genealogical tree, thus:—



(1) This is the root suggested by me as existing in very remote pre-Vedic ages, and गुफा (=a cave) must have existed then;

(2) is evolved, on the one hand, by the precipitation of ह् from the class aspirate ष्;

while (3) is evolved, on the other hand, by the loss of aspiration leaving the unaspirated tenue प् as a precipitate. (This sort of loss of aspiration is indicated by the change of $\sqrt{\text{दृष्}}$ Sanskrit into *tag* in German),

(4) is the form evolved in the Western branch of the old Aryan stock: *cavea* (Lat.) *cava*, (Ital.); (*Kuta* is suggested only to represent the क sound), the affinity between ग् and क् and between ष् and क् being well marked in this branch, at least in some languages thereof, cf. चन्द्रकुप्त, Sandra-kuptos (Gk.), युग (Skr.), *jul* (Goth.), गौः (Skr.), *cow* (Eng.), *lo*, *lu* (MLG.), *lo* (LG.); *give* (Eng.), *givan* (A. S.) and the like;

(6) गोप, I suggest, is a noun from $\sqrt{\text{गुप्}}$, formed by the *lit* termination ष्व्, गोप=a protector, then by *lakṣaṇā*, a protector of cows; (the derivation गो+पा being an artificial one based on external appearances only);

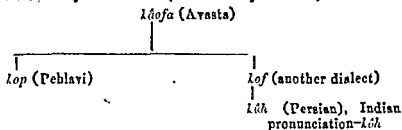
(b) (G) गुफा (=a cave) is evolved retrogressively from गुहा, partaking as it does of the trait belonging to the ancient

source, by a process which I may be permitted to name as *phonetic atavism*.

गुफ makes its reappearance thus in early Gujarâti literature and modern Gujarâti.

(7), (8), (9).—These furnish a collateral support of great value; the Avastâic *Kâof*, (linked to the obsolete गुफ) supplying, like गुफ, one form with a *q*, *Kop*, in Pehlavi, and another with a *h*, *Kâh*, in Persian.

It may be objected that Pehlavi has *lof* and not *lop*, the symbols for *p* and *f* being identical. But I am assured by Mr. B. T. Anklesaria that this point about the class aspirates is very much debated and debatable, and that he, for one, holds that *p* and not *f* is the sound. Again, it may be objected against *p*, that it can not yield the *h* in the Persian *lâh*, whereas *f* (in *lof*) would yield *lop*. But, as Mr. Anklesaria again tells me, Pehlavi was not the only language intermediate between Avastâ and Persian; there were several other dialects along with Pehlavi which occupied such intermediate position, and it is quite possible that while Pehlavi had the *p* in *lop*, the *h* in Persian *lâh* came through another intermediate dialect which retained the *f* in *lof*. Thus the genealogical tree given above may be amended (to be strictly accurate) as under:—



The fact that *gur* (Avastâ) is the relative of गु (Skr.),—*gura* (Avastâ)=गु (Skr.)—need not be a bar against the position taken up by me on the basis of *lâof*; for such collateral evolutions are not unnatural or impossible.

In the above stated points, I advance the theory suggested under (3) and (6) only tentatively and with great reservation. Even if that part be excluded, there is enough material in the remaining data for supporting my main contention.

(स) *Interpolation (प्रक्षेप) of हकार.*

An adventitious हकार is added in some words.

In some words this हकार remains, after interpolation, in the (ख) *Interpolation* form of a संमृष्टि and in others as a संकर. of हकार. Examples:—

<i>Sk.</i>	<i>Prāk. or Apabh.</i>	<i>Guj.</i>
प्राप्तं	पत्तवं	पद्दत्तं
मया	मइं	मैं
त्वया	तइं	तैं
(यद्वारे)	जिवारइ	ज्यद्वारे
(तद्वारे)	तिवारइ	त्यद्वारे
(किंवारे)	किवारइ	क्यद्वारे
नश्यति	³¹ नस्तइ	न्हासे
लघः	लघु	ल्ह
चिता	चिआ	चई

[Note:—The comparative antiquity of this प्रक्षेप will be visible from the fact that पद्दत्तइ (पद्दत्ते) is found in a work dated V.S. 1603—*Sāra-Rāsa (Natala-Gānthāvalī, Part II, P. 46)*:—जे सुगतां पद्दत्तइ मन रली!; and earlier still in *Kānhabadde-Prabandha* (V. S. 1512)—साठि वरस वावरतां पद्दत्तइ कणतणा कोठार (II-99). For an account of the added उ yielding पद्दत्त-पद्दत्त see *supra*, p. 244 in Lect. IV Section I]³²

29. See *St. Hē. VIII-iv-377* and 370.

30. अनवारइ-अत्यारे (G) is an exception. The reason is to be found in accent. अत्तवारइ has the accent on the first syllable (अ) and hence there is no need for the प्रक्षेप in आ.

The process in the three words is as under.—

जिआइ, जिहारइ, ज्यद्वाइ, (द्वितर अकार in ज्य dropped) ज्यद्वाइ, ज्यद्वाइ.

Similarly in the case of त्यद्वाइ and क्यद्वाइ.

31. शकादीनां द्वित्वम् (*St. Hē. VIII-iv-230*); hence the double स् for श्. Thus Hīmachandra, the real reason appears to be that नस्तइ is formed from नश्यति, where the य् is dropped (*St. Hē. VIII-iv-78*) and the remaining स is doubled (*St. Hē. VIII-iv-89*).

32. These quotations have been given earlier by me in a different connection. *Vide supra, Lecture IV, Section I, P. 240*

संकरः—

(With a vowel)

Skr.	Pr. or Apa.	Guj.
अर्शः	अरिस	दरस (= piles)
सर्जनकारः	सरजनभारु	सरजनहार

This form °हार was in frequent use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of Vikrama era, and even in recent literature it was in vogue in poetry:—

सूरज तारा सरजनहार (Dalpatrâm)

मंगलपुर मंगलर मांगलद्वर

(किस्स दीयगद मांगलद्वर । *Kānhadadī-Prabandha*, I, 22)

It is now-मांगरोठ (through मांगल by व्यत्यय)

ओष्ठ. ओठु होठ

(*Dīṭya*) अयाठि (= दुर्दिन, therefore, incessant rain) हँटी

अयापि अजवि-अजइ दजी

सर्वः सव्वो-सव्वु-सव-सउ सहु

(also, alternatively, सौ)

[*St. II. VIII-iv* 366 gives सहु as an *adeṣa* of सर्वे alternatively. If that is recognized, सहु comes direct, and सौ by dropping the ह and then सउ changing to सौ.]

(With consonants)

(क)

कपोतः कपोतो खतर³³

(optionally कपतर)

33 कव्तर is a Persian word also, कव्तरदुम=दुम-इ-कव्तर a pen shaped like the tail of a dove (A Persian into Persian Dictionary, entitled *Ghuds-ul laughāt*). Also कव्तर (Persian)=Blue, आसमाने कव्तर=blue sky.

Could कव्तर in Persian have been formed from कवुत (blue)? or it may be that कवुत was taken into Persian from Sanskrit कपोत, and then कव्तर. In Sanskrit, कपोत means 'a pigeon,' a dove,' and also 'the grey colour of a pigeon' (*Āpte's Dictionary*). It is possible that the adjective 'blue' in Persian was so taken from Sanskrit.

The त remains unchanged, and so far the word is a सञ्ज्ञात् तन्त्रव. The र may be an evolution of ट in कपोतकः-कपोतदु-कपुतदु-कवुतदु-कवुतर-कव्तर.

तृणकरं:	34 तरिण(कलं) तणखलं or तरखलं (by altern-	
	तरण(कलं)	ately dropping र or ण)
कोटरं	कोटरं	Guj. कोतर=a cavity; from it the
	(Paiśācī कोतर)	verb कोतरवुं and also सोतरवुं.
कोनरु:	कोणउ	खूणो
कोडक:	कोडउ	खळो 35
(ग)		
सकलकं	सगळउं	36 सपळुं
(घ)	(Dēśja) पडंचा	पणउ
(ज)		
ज्वाला	जाळा	झाल (a flame)
पुष्पति	जुझइ	झमे
सचितकं	सुचिभउं (सूजियुं)	सझयुं 37
वीजपति	वीजेइ	वीमे

34. *St. II*, VIII-i-144 notes the change of क to अरि only in the case of रत (Skr.)—ररिअ (Pr.). The principle is here extended by way of अनुपत्ति in Gujarātī.

35. Dr. Bhāndārkar derives the word as above. (His Lectures, P. 173). The विवृत sound of ख remains unexplained. It may be an exception.

36. This is at least as old as V. S. 1541, for Bhima Kavi's *Har-Lila* has—

तेम्या सघलां नाहनां बाल। (*Kald* VIII, St, 30).

Also,—

विजसाटी सघली नेसाळ (*Ibid*, St. 47).

At any rate V. S. 1574, the year of the copy, witnesses this घ in सघलां, सघनी.

37. This may have been the result of the operation of the principle of *Distinction*; a desire to distinguish the word from सूजुं (= to get swollen), सूखुं (= to occur, to strike one's mind) may have been formed with an aspirated ज (झ).

(*deśya*) जयरया (यवाङ्कुरा) शरोरा³⁸
 (*deśya*) जाडी शाही³⁹

(इ)

(आरोहति=) चढइ⁴⁰ चढे

(त)

दान्तः	कन्तु	कंध
सीमन्तवः	सीमन्तउ (सीभन्तउ)	संधो, संधी
भक्तकं	भक्तउं	भाधुं ⁴¹

38. शरोरा is the name specially given to the sproutlings of *yara*, grown in small baskets placed before the goddess in the days of *Nara rātrā* holidays.

39. The meaning given in the *Dēśi-ndama-māli* for जाडी is गुरुम (III-45). But III-57 has also शड for एतागहनम्. This leaves the matter doubtful. *Dēśi-ndama-māli* I-61 has आमल्ली शाडेभमिमि, and the gloss on it has आमल्ली शाडेभ. Could शाड be a Sanskrit word? It looks suspiciously *deśya*, like घोटक, लकुट, &c. But शाड must bear the meaning, "a tree".

40. Vrajalāl Śāstri, in his *Utsarga Mālā* P. 77, gives चरति as a Sanskrit root in the sense of "to mount to ascend", giving by way of illustration the sentence अभवारो घोटे चरति (असवार घोटे चढेछे). This is without any authority. Pāṇini gives चद् (10th conjugation) भेदने ("to break") and चटे as a variant of कटे—'चटेइत्येके'—वर्षावर्णयोः (= to rain to cover). M. Williams and Āpte follow the above. In his *Dhātusangraha*, Vrajalāl Śāstri adopts the same meaning, but quietly shoves in चट्ठु as an additional meaning on his own account. Of course, it is wrong. Hēmachandra has clearly given चद् as an alternative *addha* of आरुद् (Si H. \ III iv-205). If चद् existed in Sanskrit in that sense, Hēmachandra would not have given चद् as such an *addha*.

41. Some derive this from पथियक, but this requires a change of प to भ which is rather a stretch (प to ब and then aspiration—is not quite impossible, however), though the sense is nearer in पथियक. But मधुं is also a form in G. and here the conjunct can only come from भक्तक and not from पथियकम्. Besides, पथियक would be पादेयड in Prākṛit (Aṭṭharamaṭṭi).

वृत्तक	निदउ ⁴²	वीधु
पीतक	पीदउ ⁴³	पीधु
इत्तक		दीधु
(प)		
पाशक	पासउ	पासो
(ब)	(d ḡya) डार, डारउ	डारु
	(व to य) डारउ	
	(d ḡya) खरओ-खरउ	खरओ
	खरई	भूके

[Sanskrit *Dhatu-jatā* has वृक् भपणे *Si He VIII iv 96* has गजैवृक् and VIII iv-185 has भपेभृक्. If this last is accepted this instance (वृक्ङ-भृक्) may be excluded or rather it may be regarded as one in which the प्रक्षेप of हकार began in the Prākṛit language.]

The sense is changed because भप् = *to barf* whereas G भृक् = *to bray*. The principle laid down in पातयोऽर्थांतरस्यि, *Si He VIII iv 208* is carried into Gujarātī.]

[The principle of this apparently unaccountable प्रक्षेप of हकार is found in rare cases in Prākṛit also नापित (Skr) प्हाविओ (Pr) (*Si H VIII : 290*), पवस (Skr), पणसो (Pr) &c &c (*Si H VIII : 292*)]⁴⁴

42 व is changed to द in Saurasṭī : (*S He VIII iv 259*) वयु could be from करइ (Pr) Gujarātī root वर and Gujarātī प प वयु Prākṛit may also have करिभ

43 डार-वामकर (left hand) (*Dēśī : āma : 111, IV-6*) then लय लक्षणा, any left limb, left side

44 Dr Bīlindīkar gives an interesting explanation of the aspiration of unaspirates in regard to Pli. It may stand good for all other languages, and it will explain the aspiration in the case of some of the above instances. He says —

‘An unaspirate is changed to an aspirate when it is followed in the same word by a sibilant x x x x. The heavy *śṛḍa* that forms a constituent of the sibilant sound has made such a strong impression on the ear of the hearer that he immediately prepares himself to let it out, and thus uses it even in pronouncing the letters which precede the sibilant and do not require it. (His Lectures Pp 40-41)

(ग) THE लोप, LOSS, OF इकार.

- (ग) *Loss of इकार.* The *utsarga* may be stated thus —
The इ, existing in Prākṛit, Dīśya, or intermediate forms in some words, is dropped, whether the इकार be a member of a conjunct or be संकीर्ण with a vowel or form the aspirating factor in a class aspirate, in the last case the dropping of the इ leaves the corresponding unaspirate.

Examples.—

(संयुक्त इ)

Skr.	Prāk. or Ap. or Dīśya	Guj.
चिहं	चेण्हं ¹⁵	चर्न
तीक्ष्णक	तिण्हउं	तीव
विहलक	विहलउं (विहलउं)	वीहं (also वहीहं in Surat District) ¹⁶
वल्लभः	वल्लहु (व्हल्लउ, व्हल्लव)	वालभ ¹⁷

He further accounts for this habit by the fact that pronunciation is facilitated by transferring one of the elements of a sound, to another i. e. by assimilating them to each other as much as possible. To this I may suggest an additional explanation viz the sound heard last sticks better in the mind and therefore it is used first in utterance to some extent as in this aspiration, or fully as in the case of व्यत्यय (metathesis), (G.) विलाडो for (Skr.) विहलकः etc.. This tendency is sometimes so potent that some children pronounce ऊट as टूअ.

45 Under Sr. IIc. VIII-1-85, the short इ of the initial syllable followed by a conjunct, turns into ए (optionally).

46 This व्ह in vogue in Surat excludes the correctness of the alternative derivation from विकल (Skr.), विमल (Pr)

47. Simala Bhat's *Padmāvatī* has व्हेली वल्लभो वाइलमा. The इ has lingered still upto Simala's time, but evidently as a vanishing star. The व here is changed to म under an *utsarga* to be dealt with later on. There is an alternative phonetic course —वल्लभः—वालभ—वालभ. वालभ is found in *Vasanta vilasa*, St 50. The final म would be partly the result of the *anuvāc* in ल.

(स्वरसंकीर्ण हकार).

श्रुधिका	अहिआ	जई
नाथककः	माहुल्लउ (नाहुल्लउ)	नागलो
लोहल्लउ	लोहल्लउ	लोहल्लउ
पटहः	पटहु	पटो ⁴⁸
सूत्रधार.	सुत्तहारु	सुत्तार ⁴⁹
सरजनकारः	सरजनहारु ⁵⁰	सरजनार
एकादश	एगारह	अगियार
द्वादश	वारह	वार
त्रयोदश	तेरह	तेर
चतुर्दश	चउदह	चौद
पञ्चदश	पन्नरह	पंदर
षोडश	सोलह	सोळ
सप्तदश	सत्तरह	सत्तर
अष्टादश	अट्टारह	अदार, हराड
सह	सहुं ⁵¹	⁵² हुं (= with)
माहाराष्ट्रकः	मरहट्टउ-मरअट्टउ	मराठो } alternatively मरेठो }
(हकार in a class aspirate)		
शृङ्खला	संखला	संखळ

48. नगरमां पटो वगडोयो=(announcement was made by) beat of drum¹ in the town

49. Some people even now use the word सुधार.

50. Hēmachandra gives दोहणहारौ=दोग्री (a woman who milks) in his *Deś-nāma mālā* I, 108 and gloss thereon. This would show the existence of this form हार for कार as far back as Hēmachandra and earlier

51. *St.Hc.VIII-a 419* gives सहु as an *adeta* of सई in *Apabhramśa*. Dr. Tiesatori (Notes, § 70 (5)) derives this सहु from साकम् (Skr.) relying on Pischel § 206. Pischel in § 206 does give साक as the source-word, but cites Hēmachandra iv-419 which in fact gives सह as the original.

52. Dr. Bhāndārkar derives हुं (=with) from सम (His *Lecture*, P. 251).

फलाहारः	फलाहारु-फलार	फराळ
सिध्यते	सिज्झइ	शीजे (=is cooked)
(Dēśya)	योज्झओ	बोजो ⁵³
मम	मज्झ	मुज
(अधमध्मे)	अगमजिझ-अगमज-	आगमच
याण्डति	वांछइ	वांचे ⁵⁴
आश्चर्यम्	अच्छरिजं ⁵⁵	अचरज
	(Dēśya) कच्छरो (कच्छरउ)	कचरो
गुच्छः	गुंछं ⁵⁶	गंच
सांवत्सरिकं (श्राद्धम्)	संवच्छरिअं	समचरी (=An annual Śraddha ceremony).
	(Dēśya) घुत्तिअं (=गयेपितं)	गोत्तुं ⁵⁷
कटाक्षः	कडक्खो	करहागी ⁵⁸
	(कडक्को)	कपहागी
दक्षा	दक्ख	डाक्खुं ⁵⁹

53. Marāṭht preserves the श—ओशा.

54. सारुं वांचुं=to wish well, this is a well-known idiom.

55. This is one of several alternative forms of आश्चर्यम्.

56. गुच्छ is given in the वक्रदिगण in *Si. H.* VIII-1-26. गृंचावुं, (root with a passive sense), is made out of this noun, गृंच; गृंचवुं is then formed as a causal from it. (This would fall under *Utaṅga* V-g in the last lecture, IV-section I.)

57. गुप्त-गुप्तं='concealed'; and then लाक्षणिक sense "looked for" (because a thing that is concealed is looked for). This is a possible, but unconvincing derivation, especially, when we have the *dēśya* word at hand. *Dēśi-nāma-nāla*, II-109.

58. The र is interpolated under the principle governing *Si. H.* VIII-iv-399, अमूलेऽपि वाचिर्.

59. Some pronounce the word as दाखुं. In that case the instance will fall under the previous portion of the *utaṅga*, viz: दकार shifted endward.

पाठकः	पाठ	पाठो ⁶⁰
औषधं	ओषध	ओषड
वितस्तिः	विहत्थी	व्हँत्थ
	(<i>Deśya</i>) जेसत्थि	जेस्ती
	(=वणिसचिवः)	
दृष्ट	दिष्ट	०क्षीट ⁶¹

These instances are in such a large number that Mr. Beames' statement (Vol. I, 262) about *ह* being rarely elided must be rejected as based on incomplete observation or information.

The dropping of the *ह* may appear capricious, but on a careful examination the cause of the लोप will be found either in difficulty of pronunciation or unimportance of the dropped *ह*, or some similar feature.

[This process of लोप of *ह* has a small beginning in Prākṛit *Sr. Hā. VIII-i-34*, while prescribing the change of *ष्ट* to *ट* generally, makes an exception in the case of उष्ट्र, इष्टा and संदष्ट where the evolute is *ट्ट* (*tta*). This is only a practical way of noting the real phonetic change, viz. the loss of *ह* after the *ष्ट* is changed to *ट*; for the *ष्ट* must aspirate the *ट* in the first instance.]

We shall now take up such *Utsargas* as are jointly shared by Gujarātī with some other sister languages, without variation in their essential nature, viz

CLASS (C)

Class C-Utsarga
I. The soft *anuvāra*

THE SOFT (OR कोमल) अनुस्वार.

Utsarga I

This *anuvāra* was unknown to Sanskrit; even the nasalized *ऌ* as in तौल्लोकान् was attached to a strong nasal sound. Prākṛit

60 पाठो is an arithmetical table, भाकने पाठो.

61 क्षीट is used in compounds like माथाक्षीट, घरक्षीट, and the like where क्षीट gives the sense of *per*, *per head*, *per house*, and the like. क्षीट is used in Kīthivīla and some other parts of Gujarātī.

also did not possess the soft *anuvāra*. Only with the rise of *Apabhramśa* commenced this soft *anuvāra*, inside a word as well as at the end, as in जिवँ तिवँ, वरँलु, भयँर etc, where the ⁶²अनुनासिक वकार is really a व preceded by, or closely mixed up with a softly nasalized vowel also व, हु, हिं, ह at the end of words, ⁶³ e g तुच्छउ शिञ्जउ, तरुहु, तदिं जदिं, तेणह, (कइतिउ (=कुत)), this internally), नादि (=न हि Skr), also महु, तई वयणाइ (plur) ⁶⁴ददि etc etc

Gujarati has taken this soft *anuvāra* from the *Apabhramśa*

(a) Internal in words,

Soft *anuvāra*
may be internal or final

This latter is taken particularly from the *Apabhramśa*.

(a) Internal

(क)-(A short vowel preceding the *anuvāra*) The strong *anuvāra* in the Prākrit and other originals is weakened in Gujarati and the preceding vowel lengthened —

Original strong
anuvāra weak-
ened and preceding
vowel lengthened

Skr	Pr or Ap	Guj
वक्र ⁶⁵	वकु	वाहु
रक्क	रकुड	राकडो
र	रकु	राह
शृङ्खला	सखला	साखळ
दन्त	दतु	दात
दन्तक	दन्तउ	दांतो
सन्ध्या	सञ्ज्ञा-सञ्जा	साझ

⁶² *Si Hc VIII-iv 397*

⁶³ *Si Hc VIII iv-411*

⁶⁴ *S Hc VIII-iii-25* gloss this prevails in Prākrit also. But it is *Apabhramśa* which reveals in the soft *anuvāra* generally

⁶⁵ वक्र is derived from वङ् = to go crooked the nasal in वक् must be a resurrection an unconscious resurrection, of that म वङ् which remained dormant in वक्

पन्ध्या	वंज्या-वंझा	वाझ(णी)
एण्डा	रंदा	राड
जह्या	जंघा	जांघ ⁶⁶
आम्रक.	अम्र	आंबो
ताम्रकं	तम्रं	तांबुं
संचरति	संचरइ	साचरे
संस्मरति	संस्मरइ (Pr) 67 संभरइ (Ap) }	साभरे
बिन्दु	बिंदु	मींदु ⁶⁸ (through a possible बिन्दुक)
	(<i>Dāya</i>) भंडइ	भाटे
	(„) निदिणी ⁶⁹	नीदणी
	(=कृत्यणोद्धारण)	(and therefrom नीरखुं)
पृथक्.	पहुको ⁷⁰	पूंख

Exceptions —

वान्त	वंतु	वंथ
कुम्भलं	कुंपल	कुंपळ
कुम्भवार	कुभारु	कुभार
कुण्डलकं	कुंडळ	कुंडाळ

66 जाघ = the thigh In Sanskrit जघा signifies the part of the leg between the knee and the ankle, i. e. the shank, the shin. The sense is evidently transferred in Gujarātī. I find M. Williams says जघा means the upper part of the leg also in older language. I should like to see some quotation or authority to support this.

67 See *He VIII-iv-412* prescribes स्त्रीभोवा for Apabhramśa. We get समरइ under this principle. The म् and ह् unite into म् here, through the व sound inherent in म्. (See, *infra*, the *utsarga* about nasals.)

68 I am not sure about this derivation. I give it as a mere conjecture.

69. See *Deśi-nāma-mālā*, IV 35.

70 Hemachandra does not give this in his *वज्रादिगण* (*Si. III VIII-1-26*) but he uses the word पहुक incidentally as a Prākṛit word in his *Deśi-nāma-mālā* VI, 44, पारमहो पहुकमि.

No. 1 is an exception in that it preserves the strong *anusiāra* unchanged; Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are exceptions in that they weaken the *anusiāra* without lengthening the preceding vowel.

(ग) A long vowel preceding the *anusiāra*:—

Long vowel in original preceding the weakened *anusiāra*.
 एकान्तरेण वाञ्छति वाञ्छ वांचे
 (Here the *anusiāra* is weakened in Gujarātī. Compare Marāṭhī नांगर from Skr. लाङ्गल where नां in नागर has the *anusiāra* weakened.)

Exception.—

बान्धवः

भाण्ड

(Here the nasal remains strong).

[Note:—उपरान्त is a curious word with a strong nasal, (there is no such Sanskrit word), for in *tadbhāsa* words generally a long vowel followed by a nasal always weakens the nasal.

In consequence of the false Sanskrit appearance of this word owing to the strong nasal, there are some persons who wrongly compound it with तद् and say तदुपरान्त instead of ते उपरान्त].

(ग) The above instances belong to a group which takes the strong nasal, in Prākṛit but weakens it in Gujarātī. There is another group of words which add a soft *anusiāra* in Gujarātī, there being none in the original even upto the Prākṛit⁷¹ stage, the *anusiāra* precedes a conjunct which is simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened. Such words are.—

Skr.	Prāk. or Ap. or Dīśya.	Guj.
उद्दिक्कं	उद्दिक्कं	उद्दिक्कं
महायक्कं	महायक्कं	महायक्कं
स्वयक्कं	स्वयक्कं	स्वयक्कं

71. This *utsarga*, so far, would be an अनुपूर्ति of वक्कद्वय (VIII-i-26) of Hīmachandra.

मकुणः	मकुण	मांकण ⁷²
मकंडकः	मकंड	मांकडो ⁷³
खड्गकः	खड्ग	खांडुं (gender changed)
अशि	अकखी	आंखय
उच्चकं	उच्चंड	उंचुं
मक्षिका	मखिलआ	मांखी
	(Désya) ढकेइ	दांखे
	(„) खड्गइ	खांडे ⁷⁴
उष्ट्र.	उष्ट्र	उंष्ट्र
पिच्छकं	पिच्छंड	पीछुं
रुक्म.	रिच्छु	रीछ
निद्रा	निद्रा	नीदर
पृष्ठकं	पृष्ठंड	पूंष्टं
पृष्ठिका	पृष्ठिआ	पूंठय ⁷⁵
इष्टिका	इष्टिआ	ईंठय
अक्षः	अच्छु	आंम (=the axis of a wheel)
गुञ्जकं	गुञ्जंड	गूंजं (=a pocket)
अश्रु	अस्तु ⁷⁶	आस

72 *Dēśi-nāma-malā* gives मकुण (as a Prākṛit word of which डेंकुण and डेंकुण are Dēśya equivalents) IV-14. At I-96, however, it has मकुण similarly (i.e. as a Prākṛit word). This word must therefore be regarded as doubtful.

73 फकंड and फांकडो are both Gujarātī words (meaning “a gallant, a dandy”) but related to each other in point of *anusvara* in the above manner. The derivation is unknown to me.

74 This can be traced to खण्डयति (Sl r) easily. But Hēmachandra (VIII—iv—26) gives खड्ग as a specific *śāṅkṣa* of ड्ड. Hence I have included it here.

75 E. g. in हेनो पूठय लीथो = (He) dogged his footsteps.

76 Hēmachandra gives अस् in वक्रादिगण. But Śākuntalā has सुमानि अस् विभ हृदामो. Thus I have taken अस् above in order to mark the earlier stage of the word.

Skr.	Prāk. or Ap. or Dīśya.	Guj.
मध्ये	मज्झि (M. माझि)	मांझि
अरघट्टः	अरहट्ट-(रहंठ) ⁷⁷	रहंठ
भित्तिः	भित्ती	भौर्य
वितस्तिः	विहत्थी	व्हैत्थ
छिक्का	छिक्का	छाँक
पृत्करोति	धुक्क	धुँके
	छह्क	छाँडे
	धुवह्क	धुँवे

[Note:—पट्टुग from पट्टुकः (Skr.), पट्टुभा (Pr.) is an instance under this head partially, because the weak nasal is added without lengthening the preceding vowel.]

Dīśya मकोडो (-डउ), G. मंकोडो, is another partial instance, as the vowel preceding the *anusvara* is not lengthened.

Words having a long vowel already when the soft vowel is introduced

(घ) The following words have a long vowel already when the weak nasalization is introduced:—

(a)

Skr.	Prāk or Ap.	Guj.
पाययः	पायउ	फांसो ⁷⁸
निक्षिपति	निक्षिपउह	नांखे
वेष्टते	(वेष्टइ-वेष्टइ) ⁷⁹	वींटे

77 जागे रहंठ तगी घटमाल ।

(Bhima Kavi's Hari-Lila VIII, 42).

The metrical value shows the *anusvara* in ई to be a soft one here.

78 रघो becomes पस as well as फास in Prākṛit (S. IIc VIII-iv-182), but the sense is different in फांसो. (रघो=touch, while पसि= a snare, which is the sense in पाय). Hence this derivation

79 Under S. IIc VIII-iv-221 वेष्ट should be वेइ in Prākṛit. But the actual existence of वींटे in Gujarātī at an end of the phonetic chain and वेइ in Sanskrit at the other end justifies us in discarding the *sūtra* so far as Gujarātī is concerned, and applying the general rule in S. IIc. VIII-ii-34, viz the change of ई to इ.

Skr.	Pr. or Aps.	Guj.
छाया	छाभा	छાંય (छापहो) ⁸⁰
प्रतिच्छाया	पटिच्छाभा	पटछांयो (पटछायो also) ⁸⁰
हासः	हास	हांसी
बाधकः	बाध	बांधो

(b) There is another group of words which take a soft *anusvāra* at the end.—

Skr.	Pr. or Ap.	Guj.
मुखक	मुहक	म्हां (also म्हो)
मा	मा	मां
		(particle meaning "don't")
शतं	सयं	सैं
पारणा	पारणा	पारणां
यमुना	direct	जमनां
मथुरा	direct	मथुरां
अधुना	अट्टुणा	हमणां

[Notes:—

- (1) This process is sometimes applied to words of Persian origin also:—

दुनिया (Pers.) दुनियां (G.)

- (2) The weak *anusvāra* in म्हां and सैं is evidently the remnant of the Sanskrit termination म्. In the remaining words—except मथुरां (where the *anusvāra* is not easily accountable)—the soft *anusvāra* is the result of an influence of the final nasal letter.

The above list is in addition to the words with a final *anusvāra* already given at the outset.

80 छापहो is arrived at by a change in gender and the addition of the ३ termination, and पटछायो by a mere change in the gender. Gender changes are well-known and numerous in the transition from Sanskrit to Prākṛit and Gujarātī.

UTSARGA II

Class C Utsarga II Loss of *anu svāra* preceding *vo cel* sometimes lengthened, or if remaining short the following consonant is occasionally doubled.

In certain words an original *anusvāra* having possibly passed through a softening process is altogether lost by a process of wearing out, and the preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened, sometimes it remains short, and in that case the following consonant is occasionally doubled in transit

Examples —

	Skr.	Pr or Ap or Dēśya	Guj
(1)	रिखति	रिखइ	रीखे (=crawls on all fours)
(2)	मग्ना	मंजसा	मजस
(3)	विग्वा	विंजउ	वीज
(4)	महत्(क)	महन्तउ ⁸¹ (महत्तउ महत्तउ)	म्होद
(5)	वल्म	(direct-old Guj वालम) ⁸²	वालम
(6)		(Dēśya) पट्चा ⁸³	पणछ
(7)		Dēśya दत्तण ⁸⁴	दातण
(8)	शङ्खे	शङ्के	शङ्के (=as if) ⁸⁵

81 *Si. III* VIII-11-174 has महन्त in the list गोणादि.

82 भाविया तिहा वालम। (*Vasanta Vilāsa*, 50 V S 1508) For an alternative evolution of this word see *supra* page 313 n 47

83 See *Dīdī nāma mālā* VI, 14 There are some who try to coin पट्चा as a Sanskrit original of पट्चा, but there is no authority for such a word

84 *Dīdī, nāma mālā* does not give दत्तण as a Dēśya word But in II, 12 and I, 32 the word is used (apparently as a Prākṛit word) in explaining other Dēśya words However दत्तण has the clear appearance of a Dēśya word, even if दत्तण be the Sanskrit equivalent, unless this may be regarded as a case of what Bloomfield calls *haplog.*

85 शङ्के (=I guess) is used in Sanskrit to mark an *अपेक्षा* शङ्के is thence turned in Gujarātī, into an indeclinable, meaning "as if" —

शङ्के गिरि करीने भंग । खन के मध्य शङ्के गग ॥

Prēmānand Lalitāhṛdaya, 1, 8

(9) संतापयति	संतावेइ	सतावे
(10) निस्त्रादयति	फंसावेइ ⁸⁶	फसावे

[NOTES.—

(a) There is an instance where the *anuvāda* of सं in संतापयति is weakened and the प is retained unchanged. This may be regarded as a direct evolution:—

सकल कला तु निशाकर शाकरं सइ रि संताप ।

(*Vasanta Vilāsa*, 42).

(b) This process of weakening the *anuvāda* apparently in an otherwise *tatsama* word is visible in other places also; e. g.

शकुन विचारि संभाविआ आविआ तिहां वालंभ ।

(*Ibid*, St. 50)

Here the *anuvāda* in संभाविआ must be sounded weak as the metrical value requires it to be so.]

In instances (1), (3), and (7) the preceding vowel is lengthened. In the rest, it remains short, of these in only number (4) the succeeding consonant is doubled (महत्त).

The process of dropping the *anuvāda* can be traced in an embryo (बीज) form in Prākṛit: St. Hē. VIII-i-28, 29 are instances in point. Under those *sūtras* विंशति: becomes, in Prākṛit, वीसा, त्रिंशत् becomes तीसा, and so forth. Thus the present *utsarga* may be viewed as an अनुपूर्ति.

UTSARGA III

The following words add the *anuvāda* but keep it strong

Class C. Utsarga thus preserving the value of the conjunc, III; strong *anuvāda* added in the originale.—
some cases.

Skr.	Prākṛ. or Ap. or Deśya.	Guj.
	(Deśya) धत्तूरो ⁸⁷	धत्तूरो

86. Vide *Kumārāpāla Charita*, VI, 88. Personally I am inclined to regard this फसावेइ as a verb made out of फासु, पायः.

87. The *anuvāda* at the end of a *tadbhava* word when coming after आ (as in the plural of neuter gender nouns ending in ई), or after ए and ओ is also कौमल; e. g. गाढां, पाढां; हँ (interj.) = What? मो=an imitative sound as of a brass trumpet.

वादित्रं	direct	वाजित्र
पक्षी	पक्षरी	पंखी
पक्षकः	पक्षपट	पंखो
विमृतिः	विमृण्ती	विमंति (विमंती)

[*Cf. Hindi मित from Skr. मित्र. Cf. also old Gujarāṭī वालभ from Skr. वल्लभ; quoted above from Vansanta-Viśāsa, 50).*]

The principles governing the pronunciation of *anusvāra* in Gujarāṭī may be laid down as under:—

Principles governing the pronunciation of anusvāra in Gujarāṭī; तीव्र, कोमल, कोमलतर and कोमलतम anusvāra.

(क) In *tatsama* as well as *tadbhava* words an internal *anusvāra* after a short vowel is alway तीव्र (i. e. hard) e. g. अंक, हुँद, निंदा, नेग, हुँदल; etc.

(ख) The *anusvāra* after a long vowel in *tatsama* words is तीव्र (hard); e. g. वान्त, पदान्त, एकान्त, नरेन्द्र etc..

(These are generally written फान्त, नरेन्द्र, etc., in the form of a conjunct of a class nasal and the following consonant, and so this is no case of *anusvāra*.)

(ग) The *anusvāra* after a long vowel in *tadbhava* words is कोमल (soft); e. g. रांक, रांकडो, कांडो, आंघडो; पाँडु, रीठ, धौडी; पूँछडुं, रूँघडुं; रोचडुं; सोपडुं; etc.²¹

Exception:—

उपरांत The *anusvāra* here is तीव्र; the result of some false analogy, as of एकान्त and the like.

(घ) The *anusvāra* on the vowel at the end of a *tadbhava* word is कोमलतर; e. g. दर्हि, अर्हि, नर्हि; घरे; etc..

(ङ) The *anusvāra* after a short vowel inside *tadbhava* words of the following type is कोमलतर, e. g. हुँवारो, हुँपड, हुँपाडो, etc.

[This is, in a way, an exception to the principle (क).]

(च) The *anusvāra* after the vowel उ at the end of *tadbhava* words (indicating the neuter gender, or the first person singular present tense of verbs, or words like हुँ) is कोमलतम; e. g. हुं, साहुं, पाहुं, पाहुं; आहुं, आहुं, हुं; etc..

It will be interesting to note with regard to this कोमलतम *anuvāra* (indicated under (च) just now) that its pronunciation varies in intensity in different parts of Gujarāt, and this variation can be demarcated broadly thus:—

कोमलतम *anuvāra* pronounced in varying degrees of weakness in different parts of Gujarāt.
It is strongish in Surat and Broach Districts, and in Kāthiāwāḍa, almost resembling a powerful कोमल *anuvāra*;

It is middling strong or weak in the Ahmedabad District and round about, and represents the true कोमलतम sound; and—

It is weakest, almost to a vanishing point, in Oharotara (the tract between the Vātraka and the Mahī rivers.)

[Notes:—

(1) In poetry the final उं (as also इं as in नहिं, दहिं &c.) is optionally गुरु or लघु (i. e. quantitatively long or short). This is a mere convention due to a desire for metrical convenience and the liberty which vernacular prosody takes with the quantity of syllables, unlike Sanskrit where the syllabic quantity is rigorously adhered to.

(2) This *anuvāra* is retained in the neuter gender singular in the nominative case only, in other cases (in the singular number) it is dropped, e. g. गाढाने, गाढातुं etc.; [गाढांने would be plural]. Pārsī Gujarātī disregards this rule and writes गाढांने &c. in the singular number also. But it is unrecognised by शिष्ट Gujarātī; and those who, like the late Kavi Narmadāśankar (who at one time wrote पोपटनां पेट जेवां (see his *Sāra Śākuntala*), adopt this incorrect practice, betray a deplorable ignorance of the genius of their mother-tongue. An unconscious and unnecessary anxiety to distinguish the neuter gender from the masculine, i. e. to emphasize the neuter gender of गाढांने as distinguishable from the masculine gender of घोढाने, is responsible for this error, an error which lands the writer into the confusion between the singular and plural number in the neuter gender forms themselves! For गाढांने would be plural also.]

Marāṭhī presents a curious analogy to Gujarāṭī in the matter of this *anuvāra* even as to the territorial divisions where the sound varies in intensity. The *Marāṭhī analogy in this respect, even as to territorial divisions.* *उ* in Gujarāṭī corresponds to the *ए* in Marāṭh (this as regards the nouns and adjectives in neuter gender only; the other forms of verbs, for instance, present no resemblance). Thus the nasal in the final *ए* (केले, गेले, पीवळे, केळे, etc.) is strongish in the Konkāṇa portion of Mahārāṣṭra, and weak in the Dēśa portion i. e. Dakhan proper.

Mr. R. L. Turner has contributed a suggestive and instructive article on "The Indo-Aryan Nasals in Gujarāṭī" to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (January 1915), some points treated wherein may very well be noticed here. They refer to

Mr. R. L. Turner's discussion of the Indo-Aryan Nasals, partly examined and appreciated

- (a) The influence of the lost accent on the change of *म* to nasalized *व* (वँ),
and (b) The loss of nasality due to changes in accent.

Under (a) Mr. Turner points out⁸⁸ that in Gujarāṭī गम retains the *म* and does not change it to गाँव (as in Hindi and Marāṭhī), but हुमार becomes हँवारो, because the accent precedes the nasal in the former and follows it in the latter.⁸⁹ He also

88. See P. 21 of the Journal, text and foot-note.

89. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar regards the *म* in गम as a return back to *म* from *वँ* (see his Lectures, P. 177) on the ground that Gujarāṭī changes *व* to *म* in other cases where an original *व* (by itself or evolved from *व*) exists, e. g. Skt. कपाट, Pr. क्वाट, G. क्माट, प्राप् (Skt.), पार् (Pr.), पार् (G.). The only doubt is that in cases like गाँव, नाँव &c. the *वँ* exists only in cognate languages like Hindi and Marāṭhī, and these are not intermediate languages between Prākṛit and Gujarāṭī, unless we take गाँव, नाँव as Apabhraṃśa forms, and therefore intermediate steps, which is what Dr. Bhāndārkar perhaps really means. All the same Mr. Turner's theory can be accepted as supplementary to Dr. Bhāndārkar's view.

points out⁹⁰ that the nasal is lost in the change from पृच्छन्तकः (Pr. पुच्छन्तो) to पूछतो (Guj.), (Skr.) पञ्चाशत् to (G) पचास, and the like because the accent is shifted from अन्त to the root-syllable in the case of पुच्छतो-पूछतो; as regards पचास (G.) he has not definitely pointed out the change of accent, but presumably the accent is believed to shift from पं to च and hence the loss of the nasality of प.

This is really a very instructive and suggestive treatment and the whole article is worth close study; though it must be admitted that in several places there is radical error, as when, at P. 83, in regarding the ह् as dropped in words like हूनो (which he calls ऊनो), प्दानो (पानो according to him, from प्रस्नव), त्हमे (तमे as he puts it), हमे (अमे), Mr. Turner clearly ignores the principles which regulate the हकार in Gujarātī words. These I have already indicated and discussed in the foregoing portion of my Lectures, and are more or less irrelevant here.

UTSARGA IV.

The above discussion leads up to another *utsarga* dealing with nasalized soft consonants. It possesses features peculiar to Gujarātī more than its sister languages, and on that ground may not belong to class C. However I prefer to deal with it here because it is closely connected with and suggested by the discussion just closed, and secondly because there are some features shared in common by Gujarātī and Marāṭhī and Hindi. This fact will be manifest in the course of the following treatment.

This *utsarga* may be broadly stated thus:—

The nasal (fifth letter) of a class is changed to a nasalized pure sonant (third letter) of that class, when the syllable containing that nasal is accented, i. e. न becomes ण, म becomes ञ, ण becomes ण.⁹¹

90. See P. 32, 6.42 in the Journal in question.

91. ण, ञ and ण are to be taken as similar to the weak nasalized न in Apabhramśa (मोऽनुनासिको बोवा Hs. VIII-iv-397), and not like the strong nasalized ण in तल्लोकान् in Sanskrit. Closely scrutinized, however, this instance will disclose the fact that the strength is due to the

(It is not possible to find ङ and ञ affected in this manner, for they do not occur as independent consonants in words).

This nasalization is expressed conveniently and simply by putting the pure sonant and nasalizing the preceding vowel by marking it with an *añusvāra*. I shall adopt this simpler symbol.

Examples:—

न

-पान + इ (G.)	पांदइ
घानरकः (Skr.)	वांदरो
मीनी (G.) = a cat + ई	मींदी
जानी (G.) + fem. term. अण	जांदण (used in rural G.)
जानियो + fem. term. अरणी	जांदरणी
(1) “जोडे जांदरणी घणी कोडे जोवा ज सररी”	

Navalarām, Bāla-guṇabārati, P. 15.

(2) बोलइ मंगल ये जांदणी, चंड जमलि येहवी चांदणी.

Vimala-prabandha, V, 82.

पंचदश (Skr.)	पत्ररह (Pr.)	पंदर
भगिनीपतिः (Skr.)	बहिणीयई (Pr.)	} { बन्हेवी (बहनीवई बनहीयई) } { बंधेरी (Sūratī G.)
अभिज्ञान (Skr.)	अदिष्णाण (Pr.)	
	(अदिष्णाण-अदिनाण- अइहनाण-अईहण)	अंधाण

म

गाम+इ	गांवइ	
चाम+इ	चांवइ	
आमलकः (Skr.)	आमलउं (Ap.)	भांवउं
वर्धमानं (Skr.)	वइदमाथ (Ap.)	वइवाण (name of a town)
शास्त्रलिः (Skr.)	सिम्बली	सीम्बळो

(See *Dāśi-Nāma-Mālā* P. 168, St. 17)

conjunct ङ and not to any inherent quality of the nasal, for after all the न, in this case also, gets split up into ण and nasality out of which the ङ changes into ङ before the following ङ, and the nasality may be weak for aught we can tell.

महामात्रः (Skr.)	महामासु (Ap.)	महावत-म्हावत-मावत
° मात्र (as in दृष्टमात्रेण Skr.)		° वांत (as in दीक्षावांत)
संमार्जनी (Skr.)	संमारजणी (direct)	सावरणी
पद्मणि, plur. (Skr.)	पद्मणी (Pr.)	
	(पाद्मण-पामण-पांवण)	पांपण
निर्माण (Skr.)	निर्वाण (G.) (in 'poetry in the sense of "truly").	
निर्मंत्रणकं (Skr.)	निर्मंत्रणउं (Ap.)	नॉतरुं -
	(निर्वंतरउं-नवंतरउं)	
सीमन्तरुः (Skr.)	सीमंतउ (Ap.)	{ संथो { (सथी)
	(सीवंतउ-सिअंतउ-सइंतउ)	
कदंमः (Skr.)	कदइ (कदइँ Ap.)	कादव
गोब्रूमः (Skr.)	गोब्रुइ (गोब्रुव Ap.)	घउं
महिषी (Skr.)	महिसी (Pr.)	
	(म्हइसी-ँव्हइसी)	भेंश
(Cl. M. म्हईस, म्हैस)		

अमारी (Arabic) = 1. The name of the inventor of the litter; and then, 2. a litter, itself. G. अम्बाड़ी (=the canopied *hov dah* on an elephant; from its resemblance to a litter.); मा-ँवा-ँवा-म्मा (strong through mistake of same sort).

ण

अधुना (Skr.)	अधुणा (Pr.)	इयडां (G.)
	(इउणा-इवणा)	

(*Mugdhârabodha Auktika*, P. 16, Col. 1, has इयडां. So this change is as old as the fifteenth century of the Vikrama era).

अद्वयानद् (Skr.)	अधुवाणहु (Pr.)	अद्ववाणो (G.);
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(The primary sense in G. is 'unshod', 'shoeless'; then it goes into a freer meaning, 'not wearing the usual article of dress, ornament or the like).

"राणी आपोठुं निदती रे अद्ववाणी पंथे जाय." (*Śilalati-nô-dîśen*; V. vi. 2).

आपणे

आपटे

आपणुं

आपडुं

[Of. S. मादृद्-मादृ (Skr. मादृयः); मादृ is also found in old folk-lore stanzas in Kāthiāwādi dialects].

A careful observation of the phonetic phenomenon in these cases will show that, under the operation of some curious force, of which accent is a prominent aspect, the class nasal disintegrates its constituents, which are the pure sonance and nasality; in other words न, म, ण are, if analyzed phonetically, simply द, ब, ङ respectively passed through the nose, i. e. with nasality superimposed. (An attempt to pronounce the nasals without the active help of the nasal passage, as when a person has caught a cold in the nose and tries to pronounce the nasals, leads to the production of the non-nasal sonants, this is a significant indication). This disintegration of the constituents is followed by a re-arrangement thereof wherein the non-nasal sonant becomes prominent and the nasality gets softened, thus yielding द, ब, ङ.

[Bearing this analysis of this process in mind, I am afraid I can not agree with Dr. Ganē when, in his *Introduction to Comparative Philology*, Page 51, he sees in this phonal phenomenon the working of the principle of *Anaptyxis* (स्वरभक्ति) in a new variety, i. e. he simply sees in this an "insertion of a consonant between two consonants belonging to different places of articulation". To take one of the instances given by him, M. बांदर from बानर (Skr.), the द really is between न and अ i. e. between a consonant and a vowel and not between two consonants, and as already stated now, the nasalization of the sonants (whether soft as in M. तोंदर or strong as in M. तुम्बळ), arises out of the disintegration of the constituents of the nasal, and not through any interpolation of a consonant.]

I have said that accent plays a part in bringing about this disintegration of a nasal; that it is but an aspect of a curious

force. For in words like *जनैया* and *जान्दरणी* it cannot be claimed that accent is the regulating factor here, for *नै* is accented clearly. It would seem that other forces also co-operate here, for instance, in words of the type of *वांदरो*, *पांदरु* &c. the contiguity of cerebrals like *व* and *र* render the pronunciation of the nasal (&c.) a little difficult, and thus the change to *व* &c.; besides this, the fact of a short vowel, like *अ*, following the nasal in such words leaves the nasal insufficiently supported and this also helps towards the disintegration.

It will be observed that in some instances the nasalization, after the softening, gets lost; as in *सावरणी*, *काद्व*, *महावत*, *आपडे*, *आपडु*, *हवडा*; while in some cases the nasalization is shifted forward instead of backward, as in *वांत* (*दीठावांत*); in fact there is no room for a backward movement in this case as the *म* (in *मात्र*) begins a word; *महावत* fares similarly, as *महा* and *मात्र* are practically separable parts; *भेंद* undergoes the same forward shifting of the nasal for the same reason, viz: no room for backward movement.

Again, it will be seen that in some instances this change of a nasal into a nasalized pure sonant is but in the nature of a transitional phase, as in *पांवण*, *अंद्हाण*, *नवेंतर*, which yield the final forms *पांवण*,⁹ *अंवाण*, *नॉंतु*.

I need not point out that in some cases the *व* evolved from the *म* is further changed to *व* as in *काद्व*, *महावत* *वांत*, *सावरणी*, *वदवाण* &c.. But another noticeable feature must be indicated pointedly; in rare cases the disintegration, instead of softening the nasal, leaves it strengthened, as in *बयेवी*, *पंदर*. This

In rare cases the nasal is strong after disintegration

92. The *व* in *पांवण*, the soft *व* is changed to the hard *प*; rather a reverse process considering the tendency of Prākṛita to soften hard consonants. I have noticed this change before, see *supra*, Lecture III, P 75, under (5), c.

may be accounted for by the fact that पत्रर fares thus:—⁹³पत्रन्तर, and this latter न turns into ण, thus preserving the strong nasal in पंदर. In बंधेयी it is difficult to trace the cause, unless it be that न्दे in बन्धेयी somehow turns from a निबन्धसंयोग into a सरलसंयोग.

I must state that the operation of this *utsarga* is as a rule optional; thus we have गामट्टं and गांवट्टं; पानट्टं and पांदट्टं, शीमळो and शिविळो; and so forth. Only in the case of वांदरो there is no option of वाानरो.

The *utsarga* under consideration has its origin in rare instances in Apabhramśa; for we find संभरर rendered possible in Apabhramśa under the operation of Si. Hc. VIII-iv-112 (म्होम्मोया). The process here, obviously, is that of splitting the म into व and the nasal, and then combining व् and र् into म्. It must be recognised, however, that the म्भ here is a सरलसंयोग, and in so far it differs from our present *utsarga*. In Prākṛit also we have म changed to म्व in तम्वे, अम्वे, (ताघ्र-आघ्र) (see Si. Hc. VIII-ii-56), and अम्विलं (आम्वल), (see Si. Hc. VIII-ii-106). Of course, the संयोग is strong here, because the process is really घ्र-म्भ-म्व; म्व-म्भ-म्व. The weak nasal is found in its germ stage in Apabhramśa, where a simple म is changed to nasalized व (ँव) as in कँवट्ट, भँवट्ट &c., (Si. Hc. VIII-iv-397). In these circumstances, the present *utsarga* cannot be classed as an अनुपूर्ति, but only one having its origin in the Prākṛita in a dīṃ form.

UTSARGA V.

Class C, utsarga V; A pure sonant of a class changed to the nasal of that class.

A reverse phonetic process to that of the last *Utsarga* is noticed in Gujarāṭi. It may be simply stated thus:—

A pure sonant of a class is changed to the nasal of that class. This involves in some cases the interpolation of an adventitious nasal to nasalize the

93. This breaking up of the word does not signify any grammatical separation, or separation based on meaning; it is designed only to mark the phoral genesis of the strong sound.

कपाट (Skr.)	कवाट (Ap.)	कमाट (G.)
गवादनी (Skr.)	गयाअणी (Pr)	गमाण्य, गमाण (G.) (=a trough for cattle to eat out of).
वाञ्छा (Skr.)	वंछा (Pr)	मंछा (G.)
धाय (Skr.)		घाम (G.) (only in ढोढाम)
धीर (Skr.)	धीरु (Ap.)	दीमर (G.)

“थोडा जटमां पेठो नळ राजा दीमरुं आचरण”

(Pramānanda *Nalākhyaṇa* V 1111)

Br Kar. Dohana, P. 168)

नीमार (Skr.)	नीमार (Ap)	नमार (G)
अधुना (Skr.)	अट्टणा (Pr.)	
	(इडणा-इयणा)	हमणां (G.)
सपर्यय (Skr.)	सपर्यय (Ap)	सपरमो (G.) (सपरमो दिवस=a holiday).
सावत्सरिकं (Skr.)	सांपच्छरिअ (Pr.)	समचरी (G.)
	(श्राद्धं is understood here).	
संयुज्यते (Skr.)	संयुज्जइ (Pr.)	समझे (G.)
दयामणो (Dāśya)		दयामणो (G.)
शपथ (Skr.)	सयट्ट (Ap.)—सय—सम (G)	
सौरभं (Skr.)—direct-	र to ट, ट् (split off from भ)+ट=ट, सोदव-सोदम (G.)	
चुम्बति (Skr.)	चुंरट्ट (Pr.)—चुंबट्ट—चुमे (G)	
बिन्दुः (Skr.)	बिंट्ट (Pr.)	मींट्ट (G.)
वज्रभः (Skr.)	वज्रट्ट (Ap.) वलउ	“वालम
	वल्लु	
महागणं (Skr.)	महारणु (Ap.)—	मिहिरामण
	महरणु महरामण	(In old poetry)

Cf. Bhāṇa's *Kādambari Parva-bhāga*, XIII, l. 50

मिहिरामण मयिउ अति कोटा

Maharāṇisinh is known as a proper noun amongst Rajputs even at present.

97. *Vasanta-līlā* (V. S. 1508) has वल्लम St 50, and St 72, in one place the *assured* is strong, in another it is weak. Could it be, then, that this word entered the *वज्रदिग्* at some stage and gave वल्लम=वज्रभ direct?

उत्सर्पणी (=rising higher up; there- fore bidding at an auction)	उच्छृष्णी उछापणी उछावणी परिहावणिआ पारिहावणी	उछामणी (=an auction sale). परिहामणी
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Similarly all words with मणी or मण as the termination, as लछामणी, मेडामणी, सचवामणी, दळमण and the like, owe the म् to a change of व् to म्, the व् being an evolutive of प्, found, in later evolution of *post*-Apabhramśa, in causal forms, the termination, or rather the *āgama* आप् in आपय् being applied almost to all roots and not confined, as in Skr., to दापयति, धापयति, भापयति &c..

[In cases like कमाड, गमाण &c., there is an adventitious nasal interpolated before the व (evolutive or original) so as to yield a nasalized ॱव which in its turn yields the म.]

[महार्णव is a conjectural derivation, suggested to me by a friend. But it seems very reasonable in all its phonetic steps: महारणवु by विश्लेष; महारावणु by metathesis of आ and अ (of हा and र) and of ण् and व्, and then व (nasalized by the proximity of ण) changed to म.]

कन्यवर्तः कलवड-कलवड-कलवो-कर्मो; (कर्मलो in old Gujarātī literature, for instances whereof see *infra*, *utsarga* XII).

Notes.—

(a) The म in the Gujarātī inflections of the pronouns ए, ते, जे, viz. हेमने, रहेमने, जे'मने can be traced to a व evolved from ओ, for we have also the forms एओने, तेओने, जेओने, as alternative plurals. The ह can be traced to the older stage in Apabhramśa and since, which gave एहु, तेहु, जेहु.

(b) Si. Hc. VIII-i-259, स्वप्ननीत्योवाँ would give the Gujarātī शमयँ (through the Pr. (सिमिणो-सिविणो)). This and the previous *sūtra* शबरेवोमः contain the germ of our present *utsarga*, but not so prominent or widely developed as to justify our classing the present *utsarga* as an अनुपुत्ति.

[The alternative Prākṛit forms तुरं and तुमं from त्वं (Skr.) indicate a similar process: त्वं gets a sort of विश्लेष and becomes तुरं;

य of this (through य and ॡय) becomes म, and so we have मुमे [१].

Sindhi मिनध is traceable to Skr. मितिः, G. मिनंती, through this change of य to म.

(Persian सुगनुमा is changed to सुगनुमा in Gujarātī under the principle of this *utsarga*. [नरा, which signifies "a note in music," "song", loses its restricted meaning in Gujarātī and सुगनुमा is added to denote any pleasant thing, pleasant to the eye even e. g.

अहि सुगनुमा इदरती गृही चीतरी, कलमं मस्त शी !

(*Chitra-darśana*; H. H. Dhruva).]

UTSARGA VI

Class C; utsarga VI; त (an evoluto of क, ख, ए, अ, ई), when not changed to ह, gets changed to प in some cases.

I now come to an *utsarga* which is open to some controversy, as it militates against some orthodox views. I would at once enunciate the *utsarga*:

त, evolved in Prākṛit either from च or from ख or from ख or from अ or from त, and when not changed to ह or when not remaining as त, gets changed to प in the Prākṛit.

Examples:—

Skr.	Pr.	Guj.
युक्तिः	सिप्यी	टीप
आदमा	अप्पा (or अत्ता)	आप
स्वन	सण (abstract termination)	पण ⁹⁶
ख	त	प (as in पयडापो, बुद्धापो)
त्वा (जित्वा)	एप्पि (जेप्पि)	
बन्धयति	कण्ठ	कापे

(H. वादना would be from कट्टे; G. वातुं would be from वृन्तति (Skr.)—वंतइ (Pr.)).

उपसर्ग	उत्तरवर्ग ⁹⁷	उपसर्ग
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96. सुखन and पुखन giving सुखन and पुखन furnish exceptions.

97. Just as पयकं would be पयट (Pr) and पयटु (Skratt G) 13 विशेष and doubling of the त 14 fit by विशेष. उपर in उत्तर पयप may be compared with advantage.

members of conjuncts (म as a second member and व as first or second) get always lost (अधोमनयाम्, *St. Ht.* VIII-iii-78; सर्वलयरामयन्द्रे, VIII-ii-79); thus in all the cases noted त्म and त्व would leave त initially. Whence then the प-producing power of the म and व after their elision? Mr. Beames minimizes the value of this invariable elision of म and व, and makes the dental go out, which is hardly acceptable. Such an elision of a dental is unknown. Thirdly, even if it be argued that the elided म and व leave a kind of labializing influence, a संस्कार, behind them, how shall we account for the प change in words where there is no म or व,—viz: in युक्ति, कर्तयति, छत्रकं?¹⁰¹ If, then, the त्त् as the first evolve in these words distinctly gives the प्, why should not the same explanation hold good in the case of words having त्म or त्व? And, lastly, it will be seen that as a matter of fact the प् has unquestionably come through त्त् even in words with a त्व e.g. रत्न first become तण, रत्न first becomes त्त् in Prākṛit itself, and the पण and प come thereafter. This then is a clear indication of the त्त् and प् being related in evolution, the question of phonal affinity or want of it remaining a mystery just at present.¹⁰²

(स् or प्) being reduced to ह् initially and gradually weakening into a relatively subordinate position, while बुद्धमत् also has the sonant ह् comparatively inferior to the surd ह् in अहमा &c..

101. As regards छत्रकं, I am afraid it is only an attempt to bring in a व somehow. But, even then, छत्र would be छत्र in Prākṛit, and the प् will therefore be an evolve of च after all. Besides, छत्र means (1) a house, and (2) a bower, but not a roof or anything leading up to it, as छत्र fittingly does, and छत्र is a comparatively out of the way word.

102. A conjecture may however be advanced as furnishing a probable key to the mystery. अण्णा, सिप्पी and the like are of the nature of Dīśya formations, while अण्ण, सुप्पी and the like may either be the Sanskritized forms of the Dīśya words or the two sets may be running on parallel lines in Sanskrit and Dīśya, where the relation between त्त् and प् can stand on phonal principles different from those influencing the evolution of Aryan languages.

[It may be specially noted that the change to **प्प** is noted in this *utsarga*, in the Prākṛit stage, even before it travels into the Gujarātī formation, except in the case of उत्तरवे, त्वन, and त्व.]

Now it will be objected on behalf of the orthodox view that **त्त** in itself cannot change to **प्प**, dentals and labials having no affinity in phonetic evolution; that, closely examined the **प** is traceable to the labial element in the form of **व** or **म**. *Si-III. VIII-ii-51 ff.* will be brought forward in support of this, whereby भस्म becomes भप्प, आत्मा becomes अप्पा, कुड्मल becomes कुप्पल, रक्किमणी becomes रक्किणी, भीष्म becomes भिप्प and श्लेष्म becomes सेप्प. छापुं is traced by these objectors from छत्वरकं (Skr.) and not छत्रकं (Skr.).

Then, we have Mr. Beames (Vol. I, Pp. 329-330) advancing the theory that **व** preceded by a dental forms a strong nexus, the natural result of which is that the dental goes out, but leaves behind a trace, in as much as it changes the **व** into its own grade; thus in आत्मन्-अप्पा, the **म** first becomes **व** then the **व** changes into **प** which is hardened into **प्** under the influence of the preceding **त्**.

Finally, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhândārkar (Lectures, Pp. 198-194) holds that when **व्**, as the latter member of a conjunct, is heavily pronounced, the double consonant that takes the place of the conjunct is **प्प** when the preceding member is a surd. He cites the instances त्व, त्वन and आत्मन् (which last at first loses the nasal sound of **म** and becomes त्व).

Let us try and meet all these objections. I would at the start put a question, if the **प** is due to **व** or **म**, why is it that it is so only when **त्** is the first member of the conjunct? Why does not **व** or **म** turn into **प** when preceded by other hard consonants e.g. why is यट्वा not changed to यप्पा, but becomes यट्वा, or पक्व not changed to पप्प, but becomes पक्क? I recognise, कम becomes प in रक्किमणी-रक्किणी. But that stands by itself.¹⁰⁰ Secondly, **म** and **व** as

100. I say it is a solitary instance, because in the case of मत्त, भीष्म, and श्लेष्म the conjunct holds **व्** as a prominent member, the sibilant

members of conjuncts (म as a second member and य as first or second) get always lost (अधोमनयाम्, *St. III.* VIII-iii-78; सर्वलव-रामवन्दे, VIII ii-79); thus in all the cases noted त्म and त्व would leave त initially. Whence then the प-producing power of the म and य after their elision? Mr. Beames minimizes the value of this invariable elision of म and य, and makes the dental go out, which is hardly acceptable. Such an elision of a dental is unknown. Thirdly, even if it be argued that the elided म and य leave a kind of labializing influence, a संस्कार, behind them, how shall we account for the प change in words where there is no म or य,—viz: in शुक्ति, कर्तयति, छत्रकं?¹⁰¹ If, then, the त as the first evolute in these words distinctly gives the प्प, why should not the same explanation hold good in the case of words having त्म or त्व? And, lastly, it will be seen that as a matter of fact the प्प has unquestionably come through त even in words with a त्व e.g. त्वन first become तण, त्व first becomes त in Prākṛit itself, and the पण and प come thereafter. This then is a clear indication of the त and प्प being related in evolution, the question of phonal affinity or want of it remaining a mystery just at present.¹⁰²

(म् or प्) being reduced to ऌ initially and gradually weakening into a relatively subordinate position, while बुद्मल also has the sonant ऌ comparatively inferior to the surd ऌ in अप्पा &c..

101. As regards छत्रकं, I am afraid it is only an attempt to bring in a व somehow. But, even then, छत्र would be छत्र in Prākṛit, and the प्प will therefore be an evolute of त after all. Besides, छत्र means (1) a house, and (2) a bower, but not a roof or anything leading up to it, as छत्र fittingly does; and छत्र is a comparatively out of the way word.

102. A conjecture may however be advanced as furnishing a probable key to the mystery. अप्पा, सिप्पी and the like are of the nature of Dīśya formations, while मत्ता, मुत्ती and the like may either be the Sanskritized forms of the Dīśya words or the two sets may be running on parallel lines in Sanskrit and Dīśya, where the relation between त and प्प can stand on phonal principles different from those influencing the evolution of Aryan languages.

As regards Dr Bhandarkar's views, all that need be said is that he had before him only a limited number of cases द्यन्, द्य, and आत्मन्. Words like छत्र, वर्तयति, शुक्ति¹⁰³ were apparently not present in his mind. Hence the partial conclusion arrived at by him. So it seems to me.

UTSARGA VII

The Prakrit sound of च, छ, ज, झ

This feature is shared by Gujarati with Marathi, but not with Hindi. Bangali, too, does not possess the Prakrit sound of these letters, so far as the language spoken by the cultured classes goes but it does possess the Prakrit sound also (See Beames I, 71-72). Maravadi goes to the other extreme and sounds the च almost as च. More about it later on. Just now let us define the scope of this sound so far as Gujarati is concerned after first examining the nature of this special sound

That त and प were at one stage mutually interchangeable is born out by Dr Tessitori's observation in his Notes § 25 (P 16). The instances cited by him are —

- 1 जगपेश्वर which he connects with जगत्पेश्वर (Skr), ~जगदीश्वर correctly
- 2 जिपवड from जिपवड, Skr जिप, (जिपव्य ?)
- 3 तण्ड from पण्ड from Ap कप्पण्ड from Skr आरमनक
- 4 पोड from आपोड from अपद्रुमप

No 3 is Dr Tessitori's original discovery, but seems reasonable though the original Sanskrit तन् remains unaccounted for — which presents a hitch. As regards No 4, I derive पोड from अस्मत्-अप्पु-पु-पोड

103 I am aware that Hémachandra relegates शुक्ति to a side-show *śāstra* where in a mixed list of words and *dhāras* सिप्पी is given as a ready made *dhāra* of शुक्ति. But an examination of the whole case shows that च gives the प and hence शुक्ति can be rightly brought within the uniform scheme giving the change of च to प

The चयर्ग in Sanskrit has तालु or the palate for its स्थान i. e.

The nature of the Sanskrit and the Prākṛit sounds compared, the former called दन्ततालव्य the latter दन्ततालव्य or अर्धतालव्य. Beames' analysis, dental and sibilant elements in the pure sound fully united; in the latter they are distinct.

the tongue comes into contact with the palate, or rather with that part of the palate which is towards the teeth. The Prākṛit sound, on the other hand, is produced by the contact of the tongue a little lower down, and the contact is lighter, partaking of sibilation of a peculiar kind. Mr. Beames calls them unasimilated palatals, because "whereas in the Aryan the dental and sibilant of which they are composed have become so united into one sound that the elements can no longer be

separately recognized, in the Turanian class the elements are still distinct". (Vol I, P. 72). This is a fairly correct analysis. I once called this Prākṛit sound दन्ततालव्य.¹⁰⁴ But it would be better to call it अर्धतालव्य to mark the lighter contact noted above. I have also called it the Prākṛit sound because, as stated in a foregoing lecture, this peculiar sound is foreign to Sanskrit and known to Pāli and the Prākṛits alone.¹⁰⁵ How the Prākṛits got the sound is a matter for a separate inquiry. I have already hinted at a possible explanation and shall soon have to go into

Territorial distribution of this sound in Gujarātī at present.

the question further. As regards Gujarātī, however, during present days the territorial distribution of this sound is markedly definable. In the Surat and Broach Districts the Prākṛit

104. I find Sir Grierson calls this sound *dento-palatal*. (See his article on the *Prākṛit Palatals*, J. R. A. S. 1913 A. D pp. 391 ff.)

105. See *supra*, Lecture I, P. 8.

The fact that चन्द्रगुप्त became *Sandra-kottos* in the mouth of the Greeks, marking the change of च to स (स) points to the original name being pronounced in India with a Prākṛit च as early as 322 B. C. This was when Pāli was a spoken language (See Dr. Bhāradvāja's *Lectures* P. 302 for Pāli being a spoken language then). This would mark the Mongol influence in Bengal and Bihār independently of the Mongol influence which came through the Gurjars into Gujarātī and Māhārāṣṭr some nine centuries later.

sound is practically altogether unknown. Even the villagers pronounce the letters with the Sanskrit sound,—full palatal. In the rest of Gujarāt, i. e. the Districts of Ahmedabad, Kaira, the Panch Mahāls, Baroda Territory South of the Mahi river, Northern Gujarāt and some parts of Kāthiāwāda,—in short in the major portion of Gujarāt, the sound is sometimes Sanskrit and sometimes

Prākṛit, and this variation follows certain definable principles. These are as under.—

The principles governing the Prākṛit and the Sanskrit sound

(a) In all *tatsama* words, wherever the letters च, छ, ज, झ, occur, the sound is शुद्ध तालव्य, i. e. Sanskrit.

(b) In all *tadbhava*, and *désya* words, the sound is अर्धतालव्य, i. e. Prākṛit,—unless

(1) the letters are united with ह, ए, ऐ or य;

or (2) ज or झ is an evolute of an original य in Sanskrit; in which case the sound is शुद्ध तालव्य,

(Note—The य mentioned in (2) may either be a simple य or a conjunct such as य, र्य, व्य or व्य.¹⁰⁶)

(c) The palatals in words derived from English, Persian and such other foreign languages, are शुद्ध तालव्य, (unless they themselves are from foreign sounds like the English z)

106. The ready made *addās* of these conjuncts are ज्ञ, ज्ञ, ज्ञ and ज्ञ respectively. But a true analysis will show that—first the ह, र् and र् in the case of य, र्य and व्य are dropped under the operation of the general rule of dropping particular members of conjuncts (S: III-VIII—11 77, 78, and 79). In the case of व्य the phonetic process is that the ह in र् undergoes विच्छेद and is mixed with the य; thus व्य becomes ह्+य्+ह, then the ह is dropped, leaving रह, the य् becomes ज्ञ and the ह aspirates the ज्ञ into झ, by getting fully सकीर्ण with it. The only exceptional part in this process is that in Prākṛit an initial य becomes ज्ञ, whereas here it is uninitial.

This is one theory. As regards य and व्य, however, a better theory is found in the palatalization by the य (itself a palatal) of dentals, whereby ल्य becomes ल्य (सल्य-सल्य), व्य becomes वल्य (पल्य-पल्य), य becomes यल्य (मल्य-मल्य), and व्य becomes वल्य (वलय-वलय).

II. ILLUSTRATIONS.

(a) उचार, विचार, वाञ्छना, छत्र; जन; संसावात; etc..

(b) general rule:—

चरुं, चारो, चारर, चूकावुं, चूओ, चूकवुं, चोर, चोटहो, चाक,
चौदं etc.; छरहो, छ, छरय, छावुं, छास, छाउर, छट्टं, छट्टं, छोकरो, छोह,
छादियुं, etc.; जर, जण, जाणवुं, जाइं, जुट्टं, जुट्टं, जडं, जोर, जांनुं, जोरवुं,
जमि etc.; सट, सगहो, साड, साही, साहं, सांसर, सरवुं, शरुं, सोखी,
सहि etc..

Exclusions —

(b) — (1)

चीलो, चीकवुं, चेरट, चेलो, चैतर; etc.

छीक, छीट्टं, छी, छेहो, छड; etc.

जीतवुं, जीयट्टं, जेट्टं, जम; etc.

सीछं, सर; etc.

वांच्य, पूछय, तज्य, वीक्ष्य; etc.

(b) — (2)

य—जस (from Skr. यशः), जात्रा (Skr. यात्रा), जाग (Skr. याग),
जुग (Skr. युग), जगन (Skr. यज्ञ), जोग (Skr. योग), जोजन (Skr. योजन),
जोवन (Skr. यौवन), जोहो (Skr. योध or योद्धा); etc.

य—जुगट्टं, जुगार, जुगारी, (Skr. श्रुतकर्तृ, श्रुतकार्यं, श्रुतसार.);

यं—काज (Skr. कार्य, Pr. वज);

य्य—सेज (Skr. शम्पा, Pr. सेजा);

य्य—सांस (Skr. संध्या, Pr. संसा), मासम¹⁰⁷ (Skr. मध्यम Pr. मन्त्रिम);

[The इ in नि may perhaps have contributed to the Sanskrit sound.]

¹⁰⁸वंसा, वांसणी (Skr. वन्ध्या, Pr. वंसा).

[Here, even if the य is altered to ज, the pure साट्ठ्य essence
of य. वांसणी वा. वा. संस्कार, that is, the pure blood runs in the veins
of many a mixed-blooded caste in India.]

107. रूप अनुपम कोमल जलप, काळी भवारी मासम राव.

(Simala Bhat's Nanda Batri, 1. 84)

108. दमयन्तीनी जंया देगी बेळ रही वाक्यंसा.

(Priminanda's Nalāhyāna iv, वरन)

(c) चोच, चोचदाग, जज्ज, जादू, जंगल, etc..

But नजर, सज़ा अज़मादा etc. have the Prākṛit sound because the originals contain a z-like sound.

An extensive and complicated *utarga* like this is bound to have exceptions, some accountable and some unaccountable in our present state of knowledge. These may be noted here:—

*Some exceptions:
possible explanation
in some cases*

- (1) छैयो. The sound here is Prākṛit, although there is ऐ with the छ;
- (2) ज, जव, जम; The sound in these is Prākṛit, although the ज is an evolute of a य in Sanskrit.
- (3) आज (for अय), आजो (from आयें), छाज, छाजली (from छाय), रीजे (from खिजइ Pr., खियते Skr.) have a Prākṛit sounding ज, although evolved out of य, ये;
- (4) चकडुं, चकली, चगडोल (Skr. चक्रदोला), चार (= four), चखो (Skr. चक्रवाक), चौबीस (= twenty-four), जमडुं, जणडुं, जमणुं, जग, जगत; कच्छुं, कच्छुं, काचडुं, काचली, कचकडुं, काचगो; छोटडुं, छूट्टुं (= a stump-brush), छूं छूं (= incantations); वजन; etc..

All these have a शुद्ध तालव्य sound although they are *tadbhāras* and without the modifying circumstances of इ, ए, ऐ and the like, and although वजन has in the original Persian a z-like sound.

[The शुद्धतालव्य sound in जमणुं may be explained by the fact that जिम् is the Sanskrit original, and the influence of the इ may have remained latent in the evolute जम्; so जेमणयं is the *dīṭṭya* for जमणुं and the ए in जे may have done similar work, assuming the ज to be originally pure palatal. As regards चार, the pure palatal sound must be traced to a form with an इ in early times: च्यारि < चियारि < चयारि < चत्वारि (Skr.).]

In the case of (1), (2) and (3) the foreign influence which gave the Prākṛit sound must have predominated for some reason untraceable at present; possibly, as Mr. [unclear] suggests in the

case of Marāṭhi words, these words must have been early *tadbhāṣas*.¹⁰⁰

I have in my first Lecture, offered a suggestion as regards

*Foreign influence
the cause of the Prā-
krit sound, the theo-
ry expanded.*

the foreign influence which gave this sibilant sound to च, छ, ज, झ, even in the early Prākṛits. (*supra* p. 8). Let us try and carefully examine further the possible source of this influence. Let us look round. The sibilant sound of च, छ, ज, झ, exists in Gujarātī, no doubt. It exists in Marāṭhi also, but with a stronger sibilation. The circumstances which alter the sibilant to the non-sibilant sound are practically the same in Marāṭhi as in Gujarātī. As Mr. Beames has tersely put the principle, "In *tatsamas* and modern *tadbhāṣas* and before the palatal vowels, इ, ई, ए and ऐ, च is *ch* and ज *j*, but in early *tadbhāṣas*, Dīśāṣas, and before the other vowels, च sounds *ts* and ज *dz*". (Vol. I, p. 72). The grouping under early and modern *tadbhāṣas* will, it seems, cover my classification as regards the evolutes of च, छ, ज, झ and so forth. Mr. Beames thinks that besides Marāṭhi no other cognate Indian language shares this peculiarity (viz: that of modifying the sibilant to non-sibilant sound under certain circumstances). I am afraid he has quite forgotten Gujarātī in this connection, for, as shown above, it observes the same rules. Could this have misled Professor Sten Konow in coming to the conclusion that the language of Saurashtra (=Kathiyava) was different from that of Gujarāt in the third century of the Valabhi era, the former being Mahārāṣṭrī, the parent of modern Marāṭhi and the latter Śaurasenī, the parent of modern Gujarātī? For he bases his

*Dr Sten Konow's
view criticized.*

100. ज, the particle showing certainty, has the Prākṛit sound and there is an unmistakeable test of the truth of this हाजसे (=yes, certainly), pronounced in colloquial hurry, becomes हारसे Here the change of ज to स points to the Prākṛit sound, in which the sibilant element predominates. The very few persons who pronounce this ज with the Sanskrit sound contract हाजसे into हाससे, and that is quite natural, phonetically considered.

theory on the fact of *ḥy* being written instead of *j* in words like ज्यावाल in a Valabhi copperplate of Valabhi Samvat 210 (= A D 530) found at Palitna,¹¹⁰ this practice of writing ज्य to denote the pure palatal as distinguished from the sound *dz* being noticeable in Modern Marāṭhī. I am aware that modern Marāṭhī people, generally of the uncultured class, add a य to the palatals like च, as विच्यार for विचार in order to mark the Sanskrit sound, the Prākṛit sound being predominant in the language. But if Professor Sten Konow had remembered that Modern Gujarātī possesses the Prākṛit sound just the same as Marāṭhī, he would not have rushed to the above conclusion on such slender basis. If documentary evidence of a later period were needed, Professor Sten Konow had only to look into *Vasanta Vilāsa* (v. s 1508), st. 24, and he would have found विचारि written as विच्यारि (च+य) to distinguish the Sanskrit sound of च in विचारी, a fact necessarily implying the general Prakrit sound of च in those days too.¹¹¹

110 See his article in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XI, P 105

The grant itself is worded in Sanskrit. But it is obvious that Sanskrit having ceased to be a living language before the sixth century A D, the employment of the Sanskrit language in the grant was due to the practice of conforming with traditional convention. However, the fact of spelling ज as ज्य even in Sanskrit composition (when Sanskrit possesses only the pure palatal sound) indicates that the origin of this mode of distinguishing the pure palatal from the dento-palatal of Prakrit was as old as the sixth century A D.

111 I or further instances—see *Uttara prabandha* I, 39, 40, 41 (च्यारि, च्यारि both meaning four), 46 च्यालीस=fourty, 85 (च्यारि=four, विचारि=thinks, this to be contrasted mutually), III, 3, (च्यारि), VI, 87, (च्यारि), Bhalana's *Kaddambari*, P 78 l 15 (च्यारि=four), P. 132, l 7 (विच्यारि=two or four, 10 a few, कतिपय is the word in the original Sanskrit text *Vaidya panchavasi* (Prose), P 175 (Edition by Mr Jagajivana Dayāladis Modi) च्यार, च्यारि, *Mādhavānala Kāma Kandalā dogdhaka prabandha*, (V S 1574), V, 184 (च्यार=four), *Idyāvilāsa charitra* by Nyāya Sundara, V. S 1516, (*Vide* Dr Tessitori's "Notes", Selected Specimens, P 100), च्यार st 18, 19 *Idyāvilāsa charitra* by Hīrānanda Suri, St 5 (V S 1485) च्यारि, cited in Dr Tessitori's "Notes"

This by the way— Amongst other vernaculars, Panjabi has something like the Prākṛit sound in certain instances and Banglā also possesses it (Beames, Vol I, pp. 71, 72). Māravādī accentuates the sibilant to such an extreme that the dento palatal च is heard almost as स, चमसुजर मंदर would be heard as ससुजर मंदर, चमना राजाजी is heard as समना राजाजी and so forth. Hindi¹¹² and Sindhī stand unaffected and retain the pure Sanskrit sound. Now, what could be the source of this strange sound in so many Indian languages, when the parent tongue, Sanskrit, never had it? We must turn to the frontier of India at two extreme points. Kashmirī has a peculiar sound *ts* as in *ts* = a thick evidently from चोर, the च having been evolved into this strange sound¹¹³. Sir George Grierson in his preface to his Manual of the Kashmirī language, tells us that some ancient documents recently discovered in Central Asia are written in languages not yet interpreted and that the clue to these languages may possibly be found in those "Pisicha" tongues of which Kūshmīrī is the only example possessing a literature. The Bhutias some of whom I heard at Darjiling over a couple of years ago (1918 A.D.) were heard to pronounce च as *ts* in a very accentuated form. At the Eastern, or rather South Eastern boundary of India, Burmese has *tsā* (*tsandā*) for चंद्र, चन्द्र, "the moon". The word "*tsarāl*" used by Edwin Arnold in his "Light of Asia" (Page 172, Book VI) is from *Cā'ra'ra' lla* (चरराळ),—Pali चररा meaning "a world, a sphere, of a peculiar description," and it seems the Sinhalese form

P 100 to be contrasted with चउपउ in the former (also चउपउ in st 7 of the latter), which is reflected in the present day Gujarātī which has the Sanskrit sound in चर, but Prākṛit sound in चउ

112 It is a curious phenomenon that Hindi and Sindhī should have retained this foreign influence. Could it be because they both were influenced though at a late period, by Persian which does not possess this sibilant sound?

113 See Sir George Grierson's Manual of the Kashmirī language, Vol I P 14 para 2. He states there— The letter, as its form indicates, is pronounced like the English *ts* in "Catsup".

of this word is 'salala' (See Professor Childer's Pali Dictionary - चक्रवाल).¹¹⁴

114 That the Greeks turned the name *Chandragupta* into *Sandra Kottos* would point to the sibilant sound of च in the Pālī or Prākṛit of the period. This fact furnishes additional evidence of great significance. Equally significant is the change of च in चन्दन (Skr) to स in *sandal* (Persian). It points to the Prākṛit medium (चदण) and the sibilant sound of च in Prākṛit which gave the *s* to the Persian word.

I am tempted to suggest a conjectural theory which would take this dento palatal sound even further beyond the times of Chandragupta. This is based on a possible connection between the words *sand* and छन्दस् (=the sacred text of the Vedas). If such a connection existed, the change of छ to स could only be accounted for by the dento palatal sound of छ passing into स and then into z (unless it be that the pure palatal छ passed into ञ, palatal, and then ञ into स dental). But on consulting an Avastā scholar I find that it is customary to derive *sand* from *śānti śānti* (=commentary) from *śānti* = to know (*pā* and being a commentary of a commentary, the earlier word being *pā śānti*) that Skr छ would be रच in Avastā (e.g. छिद् Skr is स्विद् Av) and that this view has the support of Professor Haug. I then looked up Max Müller's *Science of Language*, and in Vol I, P 237, n 36 found the same view accepted by him (viz that *sand* is a corruption of *śānti* = knowledge Skr ञति = śānti Av) I find, however, that he (M Müller) originally held that *sand* was the same as Skr छन्दस्, and while stating in the note in question that this view of his was no longer tenable, he adds the following forcible reservation 'unless we take the etymology of *sand* = *śānti* knowledge, as an after thought and as a learned explanation of a word the original meaning of which had been lost.

I am very much inclined to accept this last view, especially as Max Müller evidently suggests this reason for clinging to his old view, in a different manner though he does so.

Leaving the above arguments aside, there is another fact which carries the dento palatal sound to pre Vedic or Avastā Vedic times. It is the sound *ś* (श्) in Avastā occasionally taking the place of च (ch) of Skr, as in *yās* (Av) for यश् (Skr). If there are opposite instances also, it is possible that in pre-Vedic Skr च was pronounced as pure palatal in some words and as dento palatal in others. (I need not add that च can correspond to the dento palatal sound of च only and not to the pure palatal च.)

Taking all these scattered traces together, may it not be conjectured that the अर्धताल्ल्य sound of the palatals may owe its origin to Mongol influence through Central Asia and adjoining countries? Mr Beames notes that Tibetan on the one side and Telugu among the Dravidians on the other retain this sibilant sound of the palatals and infers that Marathi, from its jaxta position to Telugu and other non Aryan forms of speech, might naturally be expected to have undergone somewhat of their influence, and this pronunciation of the palatals is probably an instance in point' (Vol I P 72) I may remark here that mere geographical neighbourhood would not necessarily exert such an influence on language. It requires actual intercourse between neighbouring peoples or even of distant immigrants and indigenous people that can furnish suitable ground for such influence. That Maharashtra and the Dravidian countries came into such mutual intercourse is well known and this may be set down as a cause of the sibilant sound of the palatals in Marathi. Understanding Mr Beames observation in this light what he has done in connecting the Southern vernacular with its Dravidian neighbours may be done, with equal permissibility, with regard to the Northern vernaculars by ascribing this sound in them to Mongol influence from the North. I have alluded in my second Lecture to the theory, identifying the Gurjaras with the Khazars and their connection with the White Huns (*Vide* page 38 *supra*) The origin of the Khazars themselves is still disputed. But they were no doubt an indigenous people of the Caucasus their official titles were those in use among the Tartar nations of that age, *Haas, Bulgaricus, Turks, or Mongols*. There is linguistic relation between the Khazar and Bulgarian languages and the Modern Magyar is traced back to a speech current in a tract under Khazar kingdom in the ninth century. The Khazars were at one time subject to the Huns. There were two strains among the Khazars the Khazars and Kara (black) Khazars the former were fair-skinned and black haired and of remarkable beauty and

stature, and their women were specially famous for their beauty. The latter were short, dark and ugly; they were the Ugrian nomads of the Steppe, akin to the Huns.¹¹⁵ The Huns, as described by Gibbon, were distinguished by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head, and they were almost destitute of beard.¹¹⁶ This description, although it is of the section which went towards the valley of the Volga and not of the one that settled in the valley of the Oxus, and was perhaps different in race, may well be taken as common to both. The type is distinctly Mongolian, as will be at once seen.

The conclusion that may fairly be drawn from all this is that the sibilant sound of the palatals in Gujarātī most probably owed its origin to Mongol influence having affected the Gurjaras long before they came into India, and this influence must have been implanted by them into the language in use in the country which came into their power. (I base this theory on the presumption that this sound, heard at present in the mouths of tribes of Mongol origin like the Bhūtiās, must be traceable back into ancient Mongol phonology).

There is only one question which remains a particular puzzle yet. It is the isolated sphere in which the *The Prākṛit sound entirely absent in Surat and Broach Districts; cause unknown.* गद्गतालव्य sound of the palatals is retained in all cases,—the अर्धतालव्य sound is non-existent altogether—in one particular Gujarātī speaking area;—I mean the Surat and Broach Districts.

How is it that only these two districts have till now retained the pure Sanskrit sound in all cases? What prevented the foreign influence from reaching there? I am unable to answer this question, and must leave it for others to handle.

However, a powerful side light is thrown on this question by Max Müller's analysis of the palatal sound in his *Science of*

115. Encyclopædia Britannica, XIV, 59 b and c (Ninth Edition).

116. Gibbon, OH. XXVI, as quoted in Vincent Smith's "Early History of India," P. 299. (Second Edition).

Language, Vol. II, pp. 155-157. He alludes to the view of some physiologists, and among them of Brücke, that *ch* in English and Italian consists of two letters, *t* followed by *sh* and should not be classed as a simple letter; he accepts this view partially but regards the *ch* sound as made up of half *t* and half *sh*; but half *t* and half *sh* give only one whole consonant. Max Muller then goes on: "Few Sanskrit scholars acquainted with the *Pratīśākhya*s, works describing the formation of letters, would venture to speak dogmatically on the exact pronunciation of the so-called palatal letters at any definite period in the history of ancient Sanskrit." He then draws attention to the peculiar sound of *ḷ* (in English) in words like *ḷind*, *card*, *cube*, *cow*, sounding almost like *ḷyind*, *cyard*, *cyube*, *cyow*, thus marking a transition from *ḷ* into *ḷy*, and finally into English *Ch*,—a change analogous to that of *t* into *ch* as in *natura*, *nature*, or of *d* into *j*, as in *soldier* pronounced as *soljer*, *diurnale* changed to *journal*.

[This points to the phonetic process which changes चवर्गे to चवर्गे letters when followed by ङ or ण or य, noted in the speech of villagers.]

Max Muller finally states:

"We must admit in Sanskrit and in other languages, a class of palatals, sometimes modifications of gutturals, sometimes of dentals, varying no doubt in pronunciation, not only at different periods in the history of the same language, but also in different localities, yet sufficiently distinct to claim a place for themselves, though a secondary one, between gutturals and dentals, and embracing, as we shall see, the same number of subdivisions as gutturals, dentals and labials."

I have called the अर्धजस्य sound of च, छ, ज, झ, a Prakrit

Sir George Grierson's valuable discussion on the sound of the Prakrit Palatals summarized, appreciated and commented upon.

sound. The history of this sound in Prakrit has been ably gone into by Sir George Grierson in an article of his which came to my notice long after I wrote this discussion. The article may be summarized here with profit as it affords unexpected support to my views, of

course independently and anticipatorily, and throws some suggestive side-light on the question. For a full view of the article I must refer the student to the J.R.A. 1913 A.D., pp. 391, f. "The Pronunciation of Prākṛit Palatals." I give here a brief summary with my remarks on certain points:—

The broad conclusions arrived at by Sir George Grierson are

(A) In Standard Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit and in Śaurasēnī palatals were probably pronounced as *dento-palatals* (as in Modern Marāṭhī).

(B) In Māgadhi they were pronounced clearly as true palatals.

(C) This distinction has persisted to the present day, except that in the North of the Śaurasēnī tract the pronunciation of the closely related Māgadhi and of Śaurasēnī Pāṣāchikī has ousted the pronunciation of Standard Śaurasēnī and of Mahārāṣṭrī.

(D) Dr. Hærnle (Gaudian Grammar, 7 ff.) shows that palatals of the Eastern Indo-Aryan vernaculars are more distinctly and truly palatal than those of the West and South, a fact which "seems to have been noticed already by the Prākṛit grammarians."

The facts, data and arguments on which and by which these conclusions are as under:—

(a) Vararuchi (XI, 5)—(for Māgadhi)—says:—

चरगम्य स्पृता तथोच्चारणः ।

Bhāmaha's comment on this is:—

चरगम्य यथा स्पृता तथोच्चारणो भवति ।

Lassen (P. 179) suggests:—read अस्पृता for स्पृता

Cowell (P. 179) suggests अस्पृता ("with a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth.")

[I should say स्पृता in view of the अस्पृता or इवस्पृता in Standard Prākṛit. However, the *extra* is an unsolved riddle so far as its exact sense is concerned.]

- (b) 'Kramadīśvara (Lassen, 393) has यपचरगंयुक्ता मनागुच्चार्याः। which Sir George translates thus:—"y, p, and the चरगं when forming part of a compound consonant are lightly pronounced."

Now, this interpretation is difficult to accept. यपचरगंयुक्ताः is a *sarīśa* and an adjective qualifying some noun, not here mentioned but mentioned in a foregoing *sūtra* or *sūtras*, and taken here by *anuvṛtti*. The preceding two *sūtras* given by Lassen (p. 393) as parts of extracts from the *Sanlshiptasūtra* of Kramadīśvara are:—

मागध्यां पतोः यः ॥ १ ॥

रो छः ॥ २ ॥

then यपचरगंयुक्ता मनागुच्चार्याः ॥ ३ ॥

(A Bangālī edition, printed in Bangālī character, has: पटवगंयुक्ता मनागुच्चार्याः (Apabhramśa and other dialects Chapter; *sūtra* 88). This, if correct, would altogether exclude the *Sanlshipta-Sāra* quotation from our inquiry, as it has nothing to do with चरगं.).

Thus, it is possible that प, स, and र are intended as the *anuvṛtta* विशेष्य of यपचरगंयुक्ताः (or पटवगंयुक्ताः whatever the correct text be), though पतोः and रो (रः) are in the genitive case and here as *anuvṛtta* terms they would be required to be in the nominative case. All the same this interpretation would be less faulty than taking यपचरगं as the विशेष्य of युक्ताः. The flaw in my interpretation due to change of the case (genitive to nominative) can be removed by taking द and छ as the *anuvṛtta* terms and विशेष्य of यपचरगंयुक्ताः though युक्ता would be required in that case, perhaps. Yet, after all, the whole thing is involved in a cloud of doubt.

Moreover, even if Sir George's interpretation were correct, it would not affect the point about the sound of चरगं when unconjoined; unless the reading be °वर्गोः but, in that case, how about युक्ताः? If his rendering is incorrect, the मनागुच्चारण would be of the letters conjoined with the यपचरगं, not of the यपचरगं. [However, we are groping in the dark for want of an uncorrupted text.]

Sir George infers:—

(a) Whatever the meaning of these *śūtras* (i.e. Vararuchi's and Kramadīvara's) it is clear that the चर्ग letters were not pronounced in Māgadhi as in the Standard Prakṛit (i.e. Śāhārāshṛī). (I should exclude Kramadīvara's text just now as hopeless).

The palatals pronounced differently in Māgadhi and the Standard Prakṛit—Māhārāshṛī.

(b) Hāmachandra, Trivikrama, and Śinharāja give us no help;

(c) Mārkaṇḍeya (See the Virāṅgāpattam edition) tells us—

(1) चर्गयोर्वरि यः स्यात् (xii, 21) e. g. चिर्त्त। चिर्त्त।

(and Sir George adds (yjjj-jjy) of his own conjecture; Mārkaṇḍeya does not give it);

(2) Again xii, 32—चिर्त्तय तु चिर्त्तः

(i.e. चिर्त्त becomes चिर्त्त) and this in Śākāśī becomes चिर्त्त; (चिर्त्तो चिर्त्त स्यंदे॥ xiii, 3, चिर्त्तदि).

(3) Taking us to the North-West he (Mārkaṇḍeya) tells us (xviii, 2) that in Vṛcchaḥ Apabhraṃśa (spoken in Sindh)—

चर्गोर्वरि यो भवेत्। चर्त्त। चर्त्त।

(4) Finally (xx, 4) in Śaurasēni-Pāṣāṇikī (a variety of the Kākaya-Pāṣāṇikī of the extreme North-West) चर्गयोर्वरिद्यः। चर्त्त।

(This language has only च, छ, and ञ, and not ज and ञ). (चर्त्त=चर्त्त, nomin. ends in य as in Māgadhi). (Sir George presumes that Śaurasēni-Pāṣāṇikī means the Pāṣāṇikī spoken by the Piśāchas of Śaurasēna, i.e. of the present N. E. Rajputānā.)

Sir George infers from all this:—

(क) that Mārkaṇḍeya considered that besides the standard Prākṛit pronunciation of the palatals, these

According to Mārkaṇḍeya the pure palatal sound prevailed in certain dialects besides Māgadhi

letters had another sound, not only in Māgadhi but also in a dialect of the North-West and in another dialect of the midland closely connected with it. This sound he

represented by prefixing य to the च, छ, ज, झ, ञ.

(३) that he thus agreed with Vararuchi and Kramadīvara in the main point that in Prākṛit the palatals had two sets of sounds, some dialects employing one and others the other.

[I would observe that Vararuchi's *sūtra*, and specially Kramadīvara's *sūtra* require a definitely doubt-free interpretation before we can arrive at any positive conclusion.]

(d) What was the nature of these two sounds? (Sir George enters upon an inquiry into this). Scholars

Nature of the two sounds inquired into.

are not all agreed as to the oldest sound of the palatals in India. (Pischel § 217

refers to the difficulties *in re* the true pronunciation of the Prākṛit palatal mutes). Now, taking Mārkaṇḍeya's notation, the standard palatals—अस्पृष्ट—were—च, छ, ज, झ, while the Māgadhi palatals—स्पृष्ट—were—च, छ, ज, झ, रज, रज.

Vararuchi's *sūtra* furnishes the inference that in the Standard Prākṛit the sound was not स्पृष्ट, was अस्पृष्ट; for he differentiates from it the Māgadhi sound as स्पृष्ट. What is the exact meaning of स्पृष्ट? To answer this Sir George draws upon the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, and gives the following survey:—

(1) Bangālī and Assamese:—These extreme Eastern vernaculars must be kept aside, as they have developed under special local conditions.

(2) Birār, then westward of it, over the Gangetic Valley, and the Punjab, i. e. over the Māgadhi and Ardha-Māgadhi areas, and over the Northern part of Sauraseni areas:—the sound is the ordinary one, slightly more dental than the *ch* in *church* and the *j* in *judge*.

[Why more dental than that in 'church' and 'judge'—I would ask? The Sanskrit sound is just the same as in 'church' and 'judge'. Perhaps Englishmen emphasize these sounds in English.]

(3) In Rajputāṇā, i. e. the southern part of the Sauraseni area,—and in Gujarātī (the language wherof is closely connected with Rājasthānī)—च and छ are commonly pronounced as च c. g.

Māravāḍī—सयी (for चयी) = a mill-stone; सास for छाउ (=butter-milk);

Gujarātī:—

ऊँसो for ऊँचो (=high)

पूछ्यो for पूछ्यो (=asked);

In North Gujarāt જ and જ्ञ are pronounced as z, e. g. રૂઢ for-jhād (=a tree).

This s and this z are often pronounced as ts and dz respectively, as in the word *tsarotar* for *carotar*, the name of the tract in which this sound prevails.

[Now, I must point out that ऊँसो is never used in Gujarātī, it is always ऊँचो; सरोतर is also a wrong representation, it is चरोतर always; पूछ्यो has the Sanskrit छ because of the य. Even villagers do not say ऊँसो but ऊँचो (च being pronounced as a dento-palatal). Even in Māravāḍī the s-like sound is not quite s, though nearer to it than in Gujarātī and likely to be confounded with s. In short Sir George has relied on misleading information as regards Gujarāt certainly.]

- (4) In Marāṭhī (excepting borrowed words, including *tatsama* and a few other special cases), च is pronounced ts, छ as s; ज and ज्ञ as dz; except before palatal vowels, in which case they are pronounced as in the Gangetic valley. The s sound of छ is said by Joshi (Marāṭhī Grammar P. 115) to be merely a substitute for tsʰ which was found difficult to pronounce.

[I have already stated that Gujarātī and Marāṭhī have the same principles governing the Prākṛit and Sanskrit sounds of च, छ, ज, ज्ञ. I do not see why Gujarātī should be cut off from this. As regards ज, it is sounded as ज in Marāṭhī and ज्ञ as ज्ञ (dz); dz is not a correct symbol for ज, Prākṛit sound. छ Prākṛit-sounding, does not exist in Marāṭhī, it always turns into स phonetically, e. g. सोडणे (G. छोडणे, H. छोड़ना). I do not understand Mr. Joshi's statement quoted by Sir George].

(5) Sindhī—has the Gangetic valley sound usually.

(6) Kāshmirī has—च. छ. ज. ज्ञ (no स. because it has no

sonant aspirate). These have two sounds:—च, छ, ज, झ; and *ts*, *tsh*, *z*, *ñ*.

The nett result of this survey, 'as given by Sir George, is that in Marāṭhī (unless affected by a neighbouring palatal vowel) च, छ, ज, झ are pronounced not as *palatals*, but as *dento-palatals*. This latter sound persists, with slight variations as we go North through Gujarāt and Rajaputānā, till we reach the Gangetic valley where we meet another set of palatals nearing the English *ch* and *j*, but nevertheless more dental. Now, Marāṭhī is the direct descendant of Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit and therefore it is at least probable that the palatals in the Mahārāshṭrī or Standard Prākṛit were also pronounced *dento-palatals*.

[I may observe here that the geographical tracing of the sound is a little inaccurate. Really, the *dento-palatal* nature is strong in Marāṭhī, slightly reduced in Gujarātī, again emphatically of increased strength in Māravāḍī, then it is lost in the Gangetic valley, and again prominent in Kāshmirī. The survey of the scope of this sound which I have already given and the tracing of the sound to Mongolic influence hits the mark better.]

(c) The *dento-palatal* nature is borne out by the Greek transcriptions of Indian words:—and to show

*Dento-palatal nature
borne out by the Greek
transcriptions of
Indian words.*

this Sir George cites:—

चन्द्रगुप्त—Sandrókuptos¹¹⁷

पञ्चाल—Pássalos or Pazalas

117. The generally known name is *Sandrokottos*. But *kuptos* or *lyptos* is also seen. Weber has it. Max Muller also gives the alternatives *Sandracottus*, and *Sandrocyptus* (Vide his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, P. 141, last para, Pānini Office edition). In his quotation there from Justin the name is *Sandracottus*. The *Encyclopædia of Names in the Century Dictionary* gives under *Chandragupta* the two variants, *Sandrokottos* and *Sandrolyptos* as the names given by Greek historians of Alexander, and identified by Sir William Jones with *Chandragupta*. A friend suggests that the Greeks took *kuptos* (*kyptos*) from the Sanskrit—*gupta*, and *kottos* from its Prākṛit evolution—*gutta*. The suggestion is really attractive.

चन्दन—*tzāndanon*चटन—*Tiastānes*उज्जयिनी—*Ózēne*यमुना } *Diamoṇna*
जमुना }

Here we have two sets:—

- (1) pure palatal set—where च is represented by *T*; and ज by *d*;
- (2) the dento-palatal set wherein च is *s*, *ss*, *z*, or *tz* and ज is represented by *z*.

[I have already noted in the foregoing portion the significance of *Sandracottos* and *sandal*; but that being before I came across Sir George's valuable article, the list was necessarily incomplete.

A great doubt arises here: Chandragupta belonged to Magadha. If Māgadhi had the pure palatal, how did his name get converted into *Sandra*? The doubt is accentuated by the fact that the Greeks transcribed both the sounds, pure and dento-palatal.]

(f) In Kāshmirī the modern system of spelling, invented by Išvara Kaula towards the end of the last century, shows the dento-palatals by diacritical dots under the letters showing the true palatals thus:—

च, छ, ज, true palatals.

च़, छ़, ज़, dento-palatals.

But before his time writers either put no distinctive marks, or else suffixed a *य* to the palatals to indicate pure palatals, thus:—
चय, छय, जय, व्य.

This, says Sir George, agrees remarkably with Mārkaṇḍeya's symbols, only he prefixes the *य* whereas Kāshmirī suffixes it. But, says he, this prefixed *य* can have been nothing more than a diacritical mark to indicate the true palatal sound, for it is impossible to imagine the *literatim* pronunciation of the compound letter चय when initial as it often was.

[I may observe here:—

(a) The method of suffixing a ए to the palatal in order to mark the pure palatal sounds is not confined to Kāshmiri; as pointed out in my foregoing discussion, it was very common in old Gujarāṭī writing.

(b) एम is really an incomprehensible conjunct and is perhaps coined by Sir George both as regards Mārkaṇḍeya's work and as regards Kāshmiri phonography, under a mere sense of consistency and in disregard of the fact that the rules are to be applied subject to the all prevailing laws of possibility.

(c) The diacritical significance of ए prefixed to the palatals by Mārkaṇḍeya is an original discovery by Sir George, which is really of great value. It at once explains the apparent absurdity of the compound symbol रच, रज etc.. At the same time it throws a flood of light on the exact sound of the Prākṛit palatals for which the whole credit belongs to Sir George Grierson. His statement that रच when initial is impossible of literal pronunciation, should be extended to cases where the compound is uninitial even, for even in that position a literal pronunciation of रच and the like would be a phonal impossibility. But a query may just be suggested: Mārkaṇḍeya, in xiii, ५-भिण्डोच्चिराहृत्येके-by the *sandhi* (पठे for पठः) would appear to recognize the ए in रच as a substantial letter. Could he then have meant the ए as a mere diacritical symbol? An answer may be suggested tentatively: The ए was surely intended as a mere diacritical mark, and yet the ostensible form of ए demanded the *sandhi* change of a *risarga* to उ (i. e. अः to ओः).]

I have virtually transcribed Sir George's article succinctly with my remarks as occasion required, because although my treatment of the palatals was written before I came across his article, the credit that belongs to him as an exponent of another part of the same question and from a different standpoint, yet reaching the same goal as myself, must be fully recognised here.

UTSARGA III

The initial ण (cerebral), if any, and the non-initial double

The change of ण ण in Prākṛit, अवान्तर forms and Dēśya (initial) and ण (non-initial) to न. words, is changed to न (dental) in Gujarātī.

Examples:—

Sanskṛit	Prak. Apabhṛ. or Dēśya.	Gujarātī.
पर्णकं =	पण्णडं	पाडं
पण	पण्णु	पान
कर्णः	कण्णु	कान
सुवर्णकं	सुवण्णडं—सुण्णडं	सुडं
कृष्णः	कण्णु—कहण्णु	कदान
ऋक्ष्णकं	ऋण्णडं— रहण्णडं } न्हण्डं	न्हाडं
वर्णः	वण्णु	वान (= color complexion)
संज्ञा	सण्णा	सान
अरण्यं	रण्णु	रान
जीर्णकं	जुण्णडं	जुडं
ऊर्णा	उण्णा	ऊन
विज्ञप्तिः	विण्णत्ती	विनेति—(ती)
	(Dēśya) णक	नाक
	(„) णिंदणी	नींदणी
	(„) णत्था	नाट्ठ
	(„) णिरिअं	नरुं

Exceptions:—

सलावण्यकं	सलावण्णडं	सलडुं
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The retention of the ण here may be explained by a possible intermediate form wherein ण्ण is simplified into a simple ण possibly in consequence of the length of ला and the numerousness of syllables in the word.

आता
अरण्य

अण्णा
रण्य

आण
रण

This phonetic change (of ण to न) is prevalent in Marāṭhī

The change to न and Gujarātī equally. Hindi follows the rule of changing every ण to न, of every ण.

and ण is a letter practically unknown to the language. Under a mistaken notion that Gujarātī is an offshoot of Hindi Rao Bahadur O. V. Vaidya has made the unfounded assertion¹¹⁹ that Gujarātī also changes the plain ण to न i. e. it has, for instance, पानी instead of पाणी. A mere glance at any Gujarātī book would have convinced him that his statement was not correct.

[Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar has enunciated the *utsarga* about this change of ण to न clearly at pp. 185-186 of his Lectures. I need not reproduce it here as there is no essential difference between his enunciation and mine except that I have included the initial ण of Prākṛit. I have borrowed a few instances from him.]

UTSARGA IX.

The ण of Prākṛit derived from the Sanskrit न (uninitial)

Reversion of ण to न in certain cases. generally remains as ण in Gujarātī, but in the cases of certain words it reverts to the original Sanskrit न.

Examples —

Skr.	Apabhr. or Prākṛ.	G.
स्तनः	पय	धान ¹²⁰
भगिनी	बहिणी	बहिन

118. जैन. *S. H.* VIII-10-306. देशच्या णकारस्य नो भवति॥ पुनगन-युधो। पुनेन॥

119. “उत्तर हिन्दुस्थानांत ण ये प्राच्य कवी झाले आहे असे दिसते. साधारण हिंदीत इतकी पाणी असे रूप नमुन पाणी असे आहे, व ते च रूप पुनरागत हे। आर्यानां दिसत आहे. पुनरागत ही हिंदीची पोटशारा आहे, त्यांत ही न व बहुधा आत आहे.”

(*Marāṭhī Bhāṣādēśa Itihāsa*, a paper read by Rao Bahadur O. V. Vaidya before the Mahārāṣṭra *Sāhitya Sammelana* at Baroda in 1909 A. D., Report of Transactions, P. 8 of paper No. 7. See Appendix in the Report.)

120. If at any stage स्तन was पय in Prākṛit under the principle

तनयः	तण्ड	तन
नापि	णवि	नव
नयनं	नयणु	नन ^{1 2 1}
स्थानं	थाणु	थान (= a horse's place in a stable).
वनचरकं	वणचरुं	वनेहं ^{1 2 2}
यौवनं	जोवणु	जोवन
मनः	मणु ^{1 2 3}	मन
विनयकः	विणभउ	वनो (See <i>supra</i> p. 226, n. 81, for quotation).

(Note:—The Gujarātī compound भउमनसाह from भउो+माणस+आह (abstract termination) points to the working of this process even in the further stage of internal changes in the Gujarātī language itself.)

This change of ण to न takes place even when in the original Skr. there is a ण e. g.

प्रदणं-मदणु-वयणु-र्यन (=Intoxication)

UTSARGA X.

Intervocalic ल changed to ळ.

The change of ल to ळ

An intervocalic^{1 2 4} ल is changed to ळ.

underlying *Si. Hē. Viii-ii-७८-७७*, then this would cease to be an example under this *utsarga*, and would come under *utsarga VIII* just gone by. It would at the same time explain the lengthening of the अ before the न on its reduction to a single न and do away with its inclusion in another *utsarga* about the lengthening of internal vowels without any change in other parts of the word.

121. नन may have been adopted from Hindī. For नण is also a Gujarātī word.

122. वनेहं in the sense of a "wild animal." But we have वणियर also from वनचर in the sense of "a civet-cat"; when the ण is retained.

123 मिलिभं मणेण मणे (*Kumārapāḍa-chāṣita*, iv-40.)

124. The term "intervocalic" is a very happy word used by European scholars to express the condition laid down in the *Prāti-*

Examples:—

Skr.	Pr. or Ap. or Dīkṣa	Gujarātī
फळ	फळ	फळ
जळ	जळ	जळ
कळा	कळा	कळ
पीतक-कं	पीअळउं	पीछुं
दयाळकः	साळउ	साळो
कहली	केली	केळ
हलिदा	हळरी	हळर
"	direct	हळदर
अन्धक-कः	अंधळउ	आंधळो
गुह्यी	गळोई	गळो
पोडस	सोळद	सोळ
शीतळकं	सीअळउं	शीछुं
नाळिकेरी	नाळिपरी	नाळियेरी
अतसी	अळसी	अळशी
Dīkṣa	डिनाली	डिनाळ

Adhyas regarding the rule डडौळड्डावेकेवान्; the condition is स्वमथ्ये समानपदे i. e. in the same word and between two vowels, this is in *Kāṭhīya Prātisādhya*; the *Rik-Prātisādhya* of Śaunaka also says:—

इयोश्चास्य स्वरोर्मध्यमेस्य सपथने सङ्कारो लङ्कारः ॥

लङ्कारतामेति सपथ चारय ढकारः सङ्क्रमणा संप्रयुक्तः ।

(Pāṭala I-21, 22).

Similarly the *Sukla-Yajuh-Prātisādhya* (144) and its gloss. This same condition is applicable to all changes of medial consonants in Prākṛit, and Hémachandra has a cumbersome variation for it in the conditions (1) स्वरात् i. e. स्वरात्परस्य (i. e. the consonant should be preceded by a vowel) and (2) अनादरेऽनुनस्य (i. e. the consonant should be un-initial and non-conjunct.) (VIII-1-170). Vararuchi dispenses with the superfluous part स्वरात् and says अयुक्तस्वानादौ (ii-1). Mārkandeya (ii-1) has the same slightly varied, अयुक्तोऽनादौ ॥

(,,)	कंटाळी	कंटाळी (name of a wild plant or tree).-(“कंटाळी ने धरि” <i>Nalākhyāna</i> , Prēmānand).
(,,)	ढोलो (-लउ)	ढोलो
(,,)	डाळी	डाळी
(,,)	आळोट्ट	आळोट्टे (छे) (=rolls).'
(,,)	कंटोलं (-लउं)	कंटोलं (=कंकोडुं; a kind of vegetable) (कंटोलं is a word used in the Surat district).
(,,)	मिटाळ	मटाळ
(,,)	शोलिआ	शोळी

&ca. &ca.

Exceptions:—

नीलकं	नीलउं	लीलुं
तिलः	तिलु	तल
तिलकः (कं)	तिलउं	टीलुं
पीडयति	पीलेइ	पीले (छे)
कीलकः	कीलउ	खीलो
कोकिला	कोइला	कायल
कलकं	कलउं	कालुं ¹²⁵
मलिनकं	मलउं	मलुं
(<i>dīśya</i>)	कोइलो (-लउ)	कायलो (=charcoal)

In all these instances the ल remains unchanged to ळ.

आदिकं	अलउं	आलुं (=green; raw)
(<i>dīśya</i>)	दंडुल्लइ ¹²⁶	दंडोल्ले (छे)

125. If कल was कल्ल at any stage in Prākṛit under the principle underlying *Sr. Hl. VIII-u-98, 99*, then this instance will have to be excluded. It would also explain the lengthened अ of क under the general principle of संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व.

126. *Sr. Hl. VIII, iv, 88* has दंडोलइ as also दंडुल्लइ, but the sense is गवेय i. e. to search (Gaj dūḍhū, Hindī dūḍhā); whereas दंडोल्लु means "to shake the body (as that of a sleeping man, to wake him up).

In these words the *लृ*, although a conjunct, is changed to *ळ*.

[Note—In Gujarātī itself, the *ळ* becomes *लृ* again in rare cases, as where the neighborhood of a मूर्धन्य (तर)¹²⁷ like *ण* makes the *ळ* difficult to pronounce, e. g. वल्लु, but वलण.]

This *utsarga* is inherently akin to the Prākṛit rule नोणः;

and the reason is not far to seek. The
Connection between *sthānas* and *prayatnas* of न and लृ and ण and
 नोणः and लोळः

ळ are essentially indetical or kindred.

(In fact this *utsarga* is but a branch of the general one whereby dentals are changed to cerebrals; I have taken this apart for special reasons, one of which is the wide extent and historical peculiarity of this change of *लृ* to *ळ*). Hēmachandra (VIII-iv-307) has:—लोळः, so also Trivikrama, III-ii-48, but both these restrict the change to the Pāśācī dialect. This cerebral *ळ* existed in the Vedic period, but to a very limited extent; for *दृ* and *डृ*, when intervocalic were pronounced as *ळ* and *ळृ*, and this again was according to the view of some Āchāryas only. दृढीळृद्वादेनेपाम् and the gloss स्वरमध्ये समानपदे in the Kāṭīya Prātisiddhīya show this).¹²⁸

127, *ण* is commonly classed as मूर्धन्य along with *ट*, *ठ*, *ड* and *ढ* (and *क*, *ख* and *ग*). But, I believe, just as *दृ*, *डृ* have two sounds, मूर्धन्य and मूर्धन्यतर, so *ण* has a fuller sound, मूर्धन्यतर, also. *र* is classed as दन्तमूलीय (along with the तवर्ग) in *Ṛk-Prātisiddhīya* (Paṭala I-20), and in the same place it gives another view that *र*, according to some Āchāryas, is वारय, रेषकारयमेके; वारय, the रथन, being described as दन्तमूलादुपरिष्ठानुष्ठातः प्रदेहः. Similarly *ण* may be regarded as मूर्धन्यतर, fuller than mere मूर्धन्य letters.

128. The *Ṛk-Prātisiddhīya* of Śaunaka (Paṭala I-10, 11, Chokhambha series, Denares) speaks of *लृ-लृ* as evolutes of such *लृ-लृ*; but Max Müller's edition of the same has *लृ-लृ* at the same place. (Paṭala I-21, 22). Evidently *लृ-लृ* is a mislection.

शिवामूलं तातु पाचार्यं जाह रथानं दकारय तु वेदमित्रः ।

दशेधाराय स्वरोर्मज्जमेव सम्पदते स दक्षते लक्षारः ॥

लृलृलृलृलृलृलृ स एव वारय दक्षारः सम्पन्नं संप्रयुक्तः ।

This is evidently the fuller *लृ*, pronounced by rolling up the tongue upto the root of the tongue, and hence the contact with the palate.

In Pāli ळ existed as a distinct evolute of ॢ, when intervocalic; (e. g. ताळन for ताडन, पीळन for पीडन, तळ्ळक for तडाक; See Dr. Bhândârkar's Lectures, P. 41.)

It would be interesting to investigate the question how it was that the classical Sanskrit lost the Vedic ळ sound. However

History of the cerebral ळ since Vedic times; a survey of Indian vernaculars as regards this sound; Paisâchi influence traceable.

considering that this sound was very limited in the Vedic usage, and was only sectional in a way, there is nothing strange in the fact of classical Sanskrit not possessing that sound, and it would be not quite correct to say that it lost this sound. Another question, how-

ever, presents itself here. Did the मूर्धन्यतर sound, ळ, in Vedic usage, even if sectional, arise from contact with persons who spoke the Paisâchi Prâkrit? It is quite possible it should be so, and it may explain why it did not obtain wider acceptance in Vedic phonology which was very jealously guarded against inroads of all barbarous pronunciation. Again, a noticeable fact is that while, on the one hand, in the northern half of India, this मूर्धन्यतर sound (ळ) prevails in Gujarâtî and Mâravâdî through O. W. Râjasthâni,¹²⁹ and in Sindhi its place is taken by र which

129 मोंडण असपति मोंडियो जोधकुलो धर जेग ॥ १३ ॥

दल वादल तावीन दे हिंदू मुस्सलिमों । ॥ १७ ॥

होंडा गौड़ जादम्भझाला हठाला ।

वले वंस छत्तीस साथे बडाला ।

गोंडी नालि गोला चले फोज गज्जं । ॥ १९९ ॥

(Extracts, given by Dr. Tessitori, from a Dingoja Text, at P. 396, of the J. A. S. Beng. Nov. 1914)

Note:—The ळ with a dot below it (ळ̣) in these extracts marks the मूर्धन्यतर sound (=ळ).

Narmadâsankar, in his *Narma-Kosa*, P. 596 under ळ, the last letter in the Dictionary, remarks:—

“ए अक्षर जूनां गुजराती पुस्तकीमां लयी जुदो लखायलो ज नयो, एण उच्चारमां लयी. जुदो बोलातो हये ज.”

That is, in old Gujarâtî Mss. ळ (cerebral) is not to be found distinctively from ॢ (dental), but the cerebral sound must have existed. I am inclined to accept this view, because

indicates its existence in a phonetically kindred form assumed on account of the lingual peculiarity of the people, in the Southern half of India, on the other hand, this same sound (𑂔) prevails with equal strength in Marāṭhī, and with greater strength in the Dravidian languages; whereas Hindi retains the dental 𑂔 unchanged into the ultra-cerebral 𑂔.¹³⁰ This phenomenon is similar in character to that of the Prākṛit sound of 𑂔 𑂕, 𑂖, 𑂗, noticed by me in *Utsarga VII* above. (See Pp. 347-50 supra). We may, then, feel justified in tracing Paisācī influence in this phenomenon pervading the north and the south, an influence peculiarly non-Aryan, yet indigenously Indian. We are further strengthened in this inference by the presence of this ultra cerebral 𑂔 in some Bhīl languages. A paper was contributed by Mr. Chhaganlāl Vidyārām Rāvala to the Third Gujarātī Sāhitya Parishad (1903 A. D.) on "*The Bhīl Language of the territory of Marāṭha,*" i. e. Vāliyā and surrounding district in the state of Rāj Pīpalī. A glance at this paper shows that this Bhīl language treats the intervocalic 𑂔 in the same manner as Pālī and the Vedic sectional usage did, i. e. it changes it to 𑂔 and 𑂔 is also changed to 𑂔 (not to 𑂔 as in Vedic usage), the intervocalic 𑂔, on the other hand, is retained unaffected in the Bhīl language, curiously enough.¹³¹

(1) Māravāḍī, as we see in the above quoted instances, writes 𑂔 and only puts a diacritical dot below to indicate the cerebral sound; and (2) it would be strange if the symbol 𑂔 and the heavy sound should have sprung into existence all of a sudden without a long usage behind it. I say this in spite of the fact that 𑂔 was restricted to Paisācī and did not find place in Apabhramśa which is the main source of Gujarātī, for after all, the sound did come in and there is nothing against its having come at an early stage as a Mongol or Dravidian influence.

130. Oriyā also has a similar cerebral 𑂔 (see Beames, I-244). As regards Bangālī it has no 𑂔, and yet Beames (I-P 244, para 1) says that 𑂔 "is very common in O., B., and G., less in P." the B is obviously a mistake for M, for at P. 123 (Vol I) the table of Alphabets clearly shows a blank under Bangālī against this latter, 𑂔.

131. A few instances may be given -भाइल (भाइली); बाइल (बाइली);

The only distinction to be noted is this while Pāli, Vedic and Bhīl language change the ढ to ळ, the Paśācī, Gujarātī, Māravādī, Marāthī and Dravidian languages change ढ to ळ, the former keep the ढ unchanged, the latter keep the ढ generally unchanged, the resulting ultra cerebral sound, ळ, is the same in all these languages?

UTSARGA XI.

अस्यरितिप्रथमश्रुतिलोप—An unaccented initial syllable is dropped

Dropping of unaccented initial syllable

This is a feature shared by Gujarātī with Hindī, Marāthī and several cognate languages

Illustrations will explain the utsarga —

Skr.	Pr. or Ap or Deśya	Guj.
अरण्य	1 3 2 { अरण्यु रण्यु }	रण (also रण)

कळो (कडु), कळ (घडो), कोळ्या (काडी), कुळे (कूडा), कोळया (घोडो), खाळा (खाडो), गाळो (गाडु), चीम् चीमळीर (चामाचीडिया), छेळा (छेडो), जांबुळे (जांबुडा), टेजा (टेड), ताळ (ताड), थळ (थड), दळी (दडी), दातेळो (दातरडु), नोळो (रडोडु-लोडु), नाळो (नाडु), नुगळो (नुगडु), पळको (भयडकु), बैळा (बरोडो=पीठ, वांसो), बिनाळी (बिलाडी), राखोळा (राखेडी), वाळ (वाडो), चापळी (चापडी), पळ (पड-पडवु), देळक (देडकु), वळी (वडी), चळ (चड-चडवु)

(In view of the fact that ळ remains unaltered, ताळ in the above list may be regarded as derived from ताड, not from ताल.

There are some exceptions—इडो (ईडु), कापडो (कापडु), काडो (काडु), कुकट (कूकडो), कडवो (कडवु), गोदडे (गोदडु), गीगेडा (an insect attacking cattle), चाडी (शाडी), चुडा (चूडी), चाड (शाड), टाड (ढाल), (this is ढ for ल), तावडी (=कलेडु, तावडी), ताळवी (ताळवु),—ल is changed to ळ here, नाडी (नायडी), नाकडी (नाकडी), पीडा (पीडा), पापडया (पापडीभो), फोकडी (=a deer), बामण-इयडी (=साप बामणी), मोकडे (=मडुडा), वळा (वईलो),—ल to ळ here हाहुडी (सासुडी)

132 S: H: VIII-1-66 notes the लोप of अ in the case of this word (as also of अलावु) optionally But I include अरण्य here only to mark the influence of accent in dropping the अ (rather the want of accent) —a fact which Hēmachandra naturally could not have cognized though there is a slight indication of an unconscious and syncretical

अपत्यकः	अपत्यं	घट्युं
उपविष्टः	उपविष्ट	घटो
उपविष्टति	उपविष्ट	घटि
अपत्यः	133 अपत्यं	घटुं
अस्ति	अच्छि-अच्छि-छि	छे
111 आत्मन्	अपत्य	पोतु पोत (पोते)
अन्यन्	अण्—अनन्	
	(loc. अन्यस्मिन्—अण्—अनन्)	अने } both in use ने } at present
अवलम्बमानदीपः	अवलम्बमानदीप	अत्रामण दीपो, लामण दीपो, रामण दीपो.

(=The lamp held, hanging down, in the hand, by the mother of a bride-groom in a marriage procession and the like).

admission of the principle in his gloss when he says that only a short अ is lost and therefore अपत्य would be अपत्य only, but the sense of the principle is undeveloped in this statement

133. अपत्य occurs in the sense of "a machine-well" (a well with revolving wheel frames) in an inscription at Bāmneri in Rajaputani, dated V. S. 1318. (Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, for the year 1908-9, Assistant Superintendent's Report, Para 45, Page 52).

In V. S. 1531, we find अपत्य in Bhatia's *Harī-Līlā*, Kāṇḍ VIII, St. 42.—

अपत्यं रक्षितं घटमात्रं.

The *anuvāda* in घट here is soft, as the *chopai* metrical scheme would indicate.

134. Dr. Tassinari derives घट from अपत्य through अपत्य अपत्योपत्य. (Vide his "Notes on O. W. Raj." §§ 92, 25, and 2, (4) § 92 gives the detailed analysis, § 25 notes the change of घ to छ. and § 2, (4) notes the apheresis of the initial vowel (It may be noted that Dr. Tassinari, in § 2, (4), does not refer to the cause of the apheresis, viz. the unaccented nature of the initial vowel, nor does he apply the principle

135 उपाध्यायकः

उज्ज्वाभउ

ओझो
(=a potter)

to any vowel other than अ (§ 2, (4)), and उ (§ 5, (3)), much less to the initial syllable with a consonant, though the very term apheresis implies an unaccented syllable, Dr. Tessitori uses it only incidentally in § 92, while in the sections themselves which pertain to this change (§ 2, (4) and 5, (3)) he does not use the term apheresis. Apheresis would be a more accurate term (though not quite accurate), as it refers to an *initial* syllable apheresis which refers to unaccented *syllables* and 'aphesis' which refers to initial unaccented short *vowels*,—both are jointly covered by our present *utsarga*.

Mr. Keśavaśāstrī H. Dhruva derives पोते (पोते) from Skr खत, (how? he does not tell us).—See his Bhāṣana's *Kādambarī*, Notes, P, 247, note on P. 67, ll 1–13. It is needless to say that this derivation is hardly satisfactory or warranted by phonetic canons.

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar (Lectures, P. 145) derives पोते (=nature) from Skr प्रकृति, through Pr. पठसि. He seems to regard तेजादि (Śi. II. 1 III is 98) or सेजादि (VIII-II 99) as आकृतिगण on the strength of the इत्यादि at the end of these *ganās*. However, I should like to see some instances of पठसि quoted from actual literature.

Dr. Tessitori's derivation of पोते as well as of आपोपु (from आत्मैवात्मा), also, is hardly satisfactory. It starts with an imaginary and unlikely phrase and passes through several conjectural stages. I give the derivation as in the text, and trust that it will be regarded as better than any hitherto suggested. पोते in Gujarātī signifies "the texture of a cloth", which can easily be deduced from the literal sense of आत्मस्व "selfness, one's own nature." The expression हेने पोतानું पोते પ્રકાશ્યું, clearly shows पोते in the sense of आत्मस्व, "own nature." पोते, primarily the instrumental of पोत ("by one's own nature or individuality"), eventually has come to be an indeclinable, meaning "by one's own hand or self," as in *हे पोते लख्युंछे, हु पोते आब्यो, (पोते=आने, instrumental of घात, जख).

अप्य-आप is traceable to आत्मा-अत्ता; (vide *supra* *utsarga* V about the change of त to प्य). The त् in आत्मस्व regularly becomes प् in अप्यपु, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, प्य (through the त्) in अप्यपु (आत्मस्व-अत्मस्वत्क), and yields आपोपु (आपोपुं) found in old Gujarātī literature.

135 Compare M. ढरो (a surname) ओझ is a surname in Kṣhātrīya

अभ्युपकरण	अण्णयकम्भट अन्नययउं अनययउं	} अनग्नि नग्नि
अभ्युत्पन्नं	direct	
उपरि	direct	पर (also उपर)
उदधि	(cf. M. वारें, वर, through उवरि Pr) (? through Hindi दधि) दधि (in G poetry upto fifty years ago, e. g. दधिसुता (= Lakshmi).	

“दधिसुता वीजणे वायु भरता” (*Suddhā Charitra* V 8 ascribed to Narasinha-Mehta)

हरायती (name of a river in the Panjab)	} हरायदे-रावदे	} रागी, रावी (name now in vogue)

It is not strange to find a potter given an honoured title like उपप्राय. In the Ratanagiri District I have heard दहा at the end of names of carpenters, e. g. भिक्षवहा विर भिक्षवहा (Bhikṣa-vahā or Bhikṣa-vazī). In N Kanara District carpenters generally combine smithy in their profession, and their workshop is called शाळा (śālā)—a school—and a carpenter-blacksmith is called अहार्य (adharya). These artisans,—carpenters, smiths, potters,—must have been regarded as *adharyas*, i. e. professors, in their respective crafts. Hence a potter may have easily been called an उपप्राय, like a carpenter (as in भिक्षवहा). Probably technical education was valued in old times, and pottery was a fine art, which has only now degenerated into turning out rough pots only, as a rule.

In the United Provinces, in the Western Districts thereof, a certain caste amongst carpenters call themselves ‘Ozi Brahmanas’ (See Rai Bahadur Lal Bahadur’s paper at Pp 277-302 of the Report of the Proceedings of the Industrial Conference of 1905-06). This shows how this title of उपप्राय must have stuck to certain artisans, and changed into a caste-name.

(Old Guj.) उहोलहुं¹³⁶

होळहुं

अवश्य

direct

(old G.) वश्य¹³⁷

अणहिलवाड

नेहेरवाला¹³⁸

[उपाध्याय to ओझा may at first sight seem to be the result of the change of उव (in उवज्झाअउ) to ओ, and in that case it would have to be excluded from this list. But a comparison with वझे will show that of उव only the उ is dropped, and while व remained व in M. it became ओ in G.. Hence this word should stand in this list.]

This *utsarga* has prevailed in other languages also. Marāṭhi

has, in addition to some of the above (e. g.

Prevalence of this principle in other Indian vernaculars.

रान, रहाट, वडसणें (वैसणें), वझे, भीजणें, वर), the following further instances:—

Skr. उपानह्, Pr. उवाणह्, वाणह् then by metathesis ; वाहनं=sandals, shoes. वाहन

in Marāṭhi means "sandals" only, and no other kind of shoes; and this is evidently the restricted sense of उपानह्, as its constituent parts show, उप+आ+नह् (=to bind), as the straps of sandals bind the foot all round (आ=all round).

Hindi has वट्ठा from एकट्ठ (Pr.); एकस्थक. (Skr.)='come together in one place,' भीतर, direct from अभ्यन्तर or अभ्यन्तर (Skr.); ठा from उच्छिष्टक (Skr.); in addition to some of the words in the above list (e. g. रहाट, बच्चा, बैठा-बैठना, अर्नाला, भीगना (the ज in अभ्यन्जन having become ग through the क in the p. p. अभ्यक or under the direct affinity between ज and ग), पर from उपरि).

136 पछी पूर्वाभिमुख दिशी माथुं उहोलीनि हाथ पखालीए ॥

(*Vaishnava Akhila*, V. 8 1640 (year of copy) See *Navals-granthāvali*, Part II, P. 45).

137. In the same work and at the same page as noted above:
ते माटि प्रातः स्नान वश्य करवुं ॥

138. This is the name given in Ferishtah.

(Report of the Archaeol. Survey of W. India for A. D. 1902-03 p. 44, para 23.)

In Panjābī असंदा (=ours) from असी (=we)+दा (genitive termination), is also contracted into संदा.

In Gujarātī itself just as अने has become ने also, the first word in ओयारी जाउं (=“May I be (your) sacrifice”) becomes वारी also. This is under the operation of this same principle; ओ, being unaccented, is dropped.

That this process (which is a combination of apherisis and aphesis) began, in a limited way, in the Prākṛit period (as evidenced by अरण्य changed to रण्य and अडाउ changed to दाऊ optionally under *Sl. III. VIII 1-66*) is well-known. I believe we can trace the principle further back to Sanskrit where we find a rare instance; it is अपूप and पूप both meaning “a kind of cake.” The Guj. પૂપો can be traced either to अपूपकः or पूपकः through पूअदउ (Ap). *Āptc* (Skr.-Eng. Dictionary) gives for अपूप the derivation:—न पूयते विगीयते इत्यपूपः; none is given for पूप, and in explaining पूप he refers the reader to अपूप. This would indicate अपूप as an earlier word and पूप a later one. पूप may, therefore, be regarded as the result of dropping the unaccented अ in अपूप.

I have, on set purpose, used the word क्षुति instead of म्वर in the expression प्रथमक्षुतिटोप; for I wish to include cases like the following, wherein the first syllable consisting of a consonant plus vowel is dropped through loss or absence of accent:—

(1)	भूय	from	युयुधा,
(2)	शुं	from	कीदनाकं,
(3)	रोमुं	from	सद्ययकं,
139 (4)	माटे	from	निमित्ते (०त्तेन)

139. (a) That this inclusion is not fanciful may be seen, in addition to the number of instances and the derivations being conclusive and indispensable, from the Konkani word दोणे (=cheek) which must be derived from Skr. कपोल by the dropping of the unaccented initial syllable क. (For this word, दोणे, see “*A Christian Parody*” (a work

(1) भूख—This may be derived in two ways —

(a) वृमुखा-वृदुक्खा—then ह thrown back and merged with वृ into म, मुउक्खा, मुक्खा-भूख (G), in which case it must be excluded from this *utsarga*,

or (b) वृमुखा-वृमुक्खा—unaccented initial dropped—मुक्खा—भूख.

SI H⁸ VIII-iv-5 favors the former derivation as it incidentally gives वृदुक्खइ (as an alternative of the *ādeśa* जीखइ). On the other hand, *Deśi-nāma-mālā* (Varga VI, St 106) gives मुक्खा as a *deśya* word meaning भुषा hunger (In Varga III, St 33 also मुक्खिअ is given as a meaning of छाओ). Evidently मुक्खा cannot be regarded as a purely *deśya* word, entirely unconnected with Sanskrit, as डोलो, गिरिअ and many others are, but it must be one of those words which Hēmachandra for convenience, classed as *deśya* because वृदुक्ख was found in Prakrit. It is however difficult to decide whether मुक्खा-*deśya* or Prakrit—was evolved by dropping the initial वृ of वृमुखा-वृमुक्खा, or by merging the ह in वृदुक्ख with वृ into म. At any rate we need not regard the म as a result of व+ह of वृदुक्खा in the journey of the word towards Gujarātī, when मु ख itself is ready to hand in Hēmachandra's time, but we may safely regard the वृ of वृमुक्खा as dropped and this seems likely as वृ is distinctly unaccented

in Konkani) by Father Thomas Stephens edited by J L Sallanba P LXVI of the Introduction by the Editor) Similarly प्रतोलि (Skṛ) turns into डोला (= a street a part of a town inhabited by persons of any particular description) in Beng by dropping the initial प्र (प in Pr)

(b) Dr Tessitori Notes on O W Rāj § 71 (2) cites नइ as derived from कनइ by the dropping of क, and in § 74 (1) supports it by citing the following instance वाटइ नइ एक निरमल नीर (*Pa chāllāhyāna*, 286) But this is vitiated by the fact that नइ here is really नदी (= नदी), a river, which fact Dr Tessitori has admitted in a private letter to me dated 21st March 1919 honestly regarding his instance as a blunder. I shall have to say more about this in a subsequent lecture when dealing with case terminations

here. The only thing noteworthy would be that this process of dropping occurred in the Prākṛit stage, and not in the post-Prākṛit stage.¹⁴⁰

(2) शुं—The stages through which we arrive at this word in its final shape are these:—

Skr. कौशिके, Pr. केरिसउं; कइसउं-किसिउं (see *Mugdhārabodha Auktika* (V. S. 1450), P. 16, Col. 2, also P. 17, col. 1, where the meaning is also given as किम्-तउं किसिउं। ततः किम्। ततः कीदृशं या।); कियं (*Mugdhārabodha Auktika* P. 3, Col. 1, कियं तरइ='What does he cross?'); also किसिइं='with what' (Ibid. P. same, Col. same). कियुं-किसा कारण (=for what reason?); *Vasanta-Vilāsa* (V. S. 1508) St. 24.

Then—

क्युं—in the sense of 'what'

कदरूपने रियोग ते कशो

Nalākhyāna by Prémānanda, XXXV, end.)

सिउं—तेइ प्रति सिउं करीइ

Kāhaṭṭhi-Prabandha, I-105).

where सिउं must be pronounced स्युं to fit into the metrical scheme.

Then—शुं.

This शुं appears simultaneously with रियुं in *Vasanta-Vilāsa* as also in Bhāṣa's *Kādambari*; V. S. 1508 and 1430-1570 respectively. Thus:—

140. The word could not remain in the form of बुमुस्य in Prākṛit, for it would at once become बुदस्य। But I give this form only to mark the process, which was really simultaneous, i. e. the dropping of बु and change of द्यु to दस्य were simultaneous; the Prākṛit ear heard the whole word बुमुस्य, caught only मुस्य out of it, and turned it to मुस्य; the बु in this state ceased to be medial (or rather uninitial) and hence it did not turn into व.

I therefore hereby revise the opinion expressed by me in "*Vasanta*" *Paṭṭana*, Samvat, 1963, P. 71, where I have preferred the derivation from बुदस्य to that from बुस्य.

(1) શા કરં (=શા માટે, for what reason ?)

(*Vasanta-Vilāsa*, St. 42.)

કિયું is already cited above in *ibid*, St. 24.

(2) મેહેલ આદર એ શ્રમ કિયું (*Kādambarī*-P. 87, l. 6.)

(3) દોષ કિયું ડિલ્યુ નિ ખાત (*Ibid*, P. 98, l. 9)

(4) કામ કિયું એ માંડયું કામ (*Ibid*, P. 95, l. 12)

(5) રાજપુત્ર તલ્લો શું સાંભળયું (*Ibid*, P. 90, l. 11)

(6) રુદન કરિ દિવિ ઝૂં દોષ (*Ibid*, P. 120, l. 24)

and several other places.

It is very likely from the facts noted above that યું was arrived at from કિયું itself, before it turned into કયું.

If farther instances are wanted, here are a few more.—

(1) કિયું કરઈ હઈ વડ મિત્રેક (*Prabodha Prakāśa*, V-6; V.S. 1516)

(2) કિયાં કિયાં નવિ કીષાં ધર્મ (*Ibid*, 7 -58)

(3) વલી કિયા કારણિ કરિ કીધુ તલ્લો ડપાઈ (*Ibid*, I-16)

(4) કિયું એહડ વિશ્વાસ (*Ibid*, I-83)

(5) કાશિ કારણી *Adi-parā* by Haridās; LXXV-11; V. S. 1647)

(6) કિસિ સિયુ ડપાસિયુ (*Ibid*, LXXV-12).

Dr. Tessitori also derives યું from કીદશ through કિસડ, કિસિડ, કિમ્પુ, કિમ્પડ of the O. W. Rāj, કડસડ of the Braja, કટ્સા of the High Hindi. He also finds in the O. W. Rāj. સડ, સિડ, સ્પુ, મ્પડ.

1 કિસિડં કરસિ એકિ માર્સિ (Florentine Ms, 758, 11)

(=યું કરીશ એક માસમાં ?)

2 એ સિડં કામ કીષડં (*Panchākhyāna*, 350)

(=એ યું કામ કીયું ?)

3 સ્પું જાણઈ (Florentine Ms, 579, 48)

(=યું જાણે ?)

(*Vide* his article on "Dative and Genitive post-positions in Gujarātī and Marwārī"; J. R. A. S. 1913 A. D. pp. 551-555).

(3). रोमुं;—This is a most pertinent and conclusive instance, justifying the inclusion of other instances and the insertion of a whole श्रुति, instead of a mere स्वर, as liable to be dropped, when initial and unaccented.

Thus:—

Skr. सद्यः, Pr. सद्यराडं; श्रुत्युडं—रोमुं.

रोमुं is used by villagers, and people coming from Dungaipur, Binsvādā and thereabouts, as in रोल रोयो मुं दांत काटे ?

There is no possibility of any other process but the dropping of the initial स in this case.

(1) माटे;—The evolutionary steps are these.—

Skr. निमित्तके (e.g. राजोनिमित्ते; राजाने निमित्ते=राजाने माटे); or निमित्तने; Pr. निमित्तहं;

Then:—

(a) ह of मि changed to अ;

(b) त changed to ट;

(c) conjunct ट simplified, and the preceding अ lengthened;

(d) नि, unaccented initial syllable, dropped; and we have माटह; G. माटे.

I owe this derivation to Dr. Tessitori. In his "Notes on W. Rāj.", § 71, (5) he has suggested it and given all the steps. He derives from the instrumental, I prefer the locative as an alternative. His views for accepting this derivation are noteworthy; he says.—"This derivation is strongly supported by the consideration that निमित्तहं mostly under the form निमत्तहं, is very commonly used as a postposition in Old Western Rājasthāni texts. Instances thereof are especially common in the Mss. Dd. Γ. 585 and F. 760 (*Dadudīghāṇṭa*, Florentine Mss. 585 and 760), which is ('sic,—are) written in a somewhat old form of Jaipurī. In Old Western Rājasthāni माटह and निमित्तहं are used exactly in the same meaning, viz. to indicate both purpose and consequence."

Mr. Kṛṣṇavalī H. Dhruva derives माटे from मात्रा (=property; wealth). See his Notes on Bhīṣma's *Kādambarī*, P. 270 (Note on P. 85, ll. 9-21). It is difficult to accept this derivation, espec-

ally as he gives neither the evolutionary steps nor instances of the use of the word. I must therefore reject it in favour of Dr. Tessitori's निमित्तकेन with its chain of reasonable steps and evidence of use. It is conceivable that मात्रा may through its Pr. instrumental form (or locative form)-मत्ताइ (०इ)—turn into माटइ. But in the absence of any actual instances of usage either in the original Skr. or O. W. Rāj. and such stages, of the expression in that sense, we must pause before accepting मात्रा as the original of माटे.

I have¹⁴¹ already referred to the tendency of dropping an unaccented initial syllable affecting even English words when corrupted in Indian languages, e. g. गिरमिट for "agreement." In English itself this tendency is visible in words like 'cause, for because, (where, as also in most of the instances given just below, a whole mixed syllable is dropped, consonant plus vowel), 'lyou, for thank you (in slang usage), 'tween (for between), 'twixt (for between), 'round (for around), 'mid (for amid), 'antage (for advantage), squire (for esquire), 'pon (colloquial, for upon), and the like.

UTSARGA XII

उपजननाद.

Just as the phonetic change in the last discussed *utsarga* उपजननाद *Elision* is concerned with the initial syllable, so there of the consonant in a final syllable, sometimes of other non-initial syllable. is another *utsarga* which notes the dropping, generally of the unaccented final syllable, or its consonant, and occasionally of any other uninitial syllable. This may be briefly called उपजननाद, as the constituent really affected is the consonant in the syllable, the vowel following suit automatically, as it were.

This *utsarga* is for the¹⁴² most part confined to Gujarātī in its operation. But I insert it here, as it is something like a counterpart or complement of the last *utsarga* and furnishes cases of apheresis covering uninitial syllables.

141. See Lecture II, *supra*, P. 51, para 1.

142. I say "for the most part", because सवत्तनी gives सवत्त to Marāṭhī.

The following instances will illustrate this *utsarga*:—

Skr.	Pr. or Ap. or Dēśya.	Guj.
(1) दक्षिणः	दाक्षिण	दाखो
(2) आश्विनः	अस्तिणवः	आसो (name of the 12th month in the year)
(3) वशासीनः	वशासीयु	वदाय
(4) सावधानः	direct	सावध
(4a) अनुपानद्	अनुपानद्	अदवाणो, अदवो
(5) निमंत्रणः	निमंत्रणं	नतिरुं
(6) कुंठम्	कुंठम्	फंठु
(7) अनुपमः	direct	अनुप
(8) नीलमणिः	नीलमणी	लीलम
(9) कृष्णकण्ठः	direct	तरणकण्ठं तरणकण्ठं तरणकण्ठं (र or ण dropped alternately) } तणकण्ठं तरकण्ठं
(10) वर्षासासनं direct	वरससासन	वरसासन
(11) हस्तगत direct	हस्तगत	हस्तक
(12) वासरकः	वासरक	वासो
(13) सिलावटः	सिलवट-सिलवट	निलवट-निलवट
(14)	सिलावट	सलाट
(15) वीसनगरं	direct	वीसनगर
(16) परिधिप्	परिधिप्--परीत्--पीरस(धुं), then र dropped--पीसधुं	
(17) सुलक्षणः	सुलक्षण	सलखणो-सखणो
(c. g. सखणो बेसी रहे=stand still; keep quiet; do not fidget).		
(18) दिवसः	दिभद्-दिभ	दी (Kāthiawādī usage).
(19)	चरणियव-चरणियो	चगियो (a petticoat).

- [अंचोडो is derived by Mr K H Dhruva from मउर्ही मोडा citing दे ना मा VI-117) and आमोडो (relying on दे ना मा I-69)- See his Notes on Bhalan's K dambari P 187) Mr R L Turner (Indo Aryan Nasals J R A S January 1910 p 9) derives अचोडो from आध्रमाक्कटक अचोरडो is actually seen in old Gujarati literature -*vide* explanatory remark (22) below]
- (23) अतराशन अतरासन अतराश (the accid)

(24) फल्यवर्त	बहवत्तु	बहवो
Persian	Urdu	Guj

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (25) | बजावुर्दन | बजाळाना-बजाळाववु | बजाववु |
| (26) | बदगी | बदगी | बगी |
| (27) | दस्तखत | दस्तखत | दस्तत |
| (28) | | (Persian and G mixed) -
दस्तखटा | { दसखटा
(=hand cuffs) |

(1) Some derive दाखो from दक्ष, and so exclude the word from this principle. But दक्ष would give दक्खो in Prakrit. The द् is found in दाहिण¹⁴³ (S; He VIII n 72) and this द् is really traceable in principle to

- (a) the simplification of the conjunct **खि** (of दक्षिण) and the lengthening of the preceding **अ**, thus giving दाखिण, and (b) change of the **ख्** (of दाखिण) to **ह** (S. Hê VIII-1-187) thus giving दाहिण

True the simplification of consonant and the lengthening of the preceding vowel is a phonetic evolution much later than Hemachandra but just as is the case with many *utsargas* whose

principle is found latent (बीजरूप) in older times so the principle of this evolution is here traceable as बीजरूप in this form दादिण. I say, furthermore, I hope to show, when I deal with this phonetic evolution (संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व) soon below in the next *utarga* that its principle is found latent in Sanskrit itself

(3) उदास—Some derive this from *Śīr* उदास. But, first उदास is an out of the way word as compared with उदासीन, and 2ndly the palatal (दा) in उदास is not accounted for in उदास, whereas the ई in उदासीन accounts for the change of सू to श.

(4-a) For the tracing of sense, and quotation see *supra* *Utgarga IV* अहवु has only the sense of bereft of the usual ornament or article of dress showing a deficiency in good appearance or a feeling of vacancy, e. g. त्वारा हाथ बगडी बिना अहवा लागेते

(6) कटु—It is noteworthy that the final उ of this word in Gujarati is without an *anuvāra*, although वृद्धम would lead us to expect the Gujarati to evolve to end in उ. Thus the final उ would not be changed to आ before case terminations कटुनी दाबली and not कटानी. But in a particular compound we have कसावरी (a cup to put कटु in), which is an exceptional formation.

The reason why कटु does not have a nasalized उ seems probably to be that after the loss of the final syllable the necessary formation अर्ध is absent on account of the उ in कटु.

(8) नीलमणि—हीलम,—This derivation is suggested by me here only as a tentative one.

(12) वासी is used in a restricted sense viz the days computed after the confinement of a woman.

(13) निलय, लिहय—are words found in Old Gujarati literature—

निलय तिळ ते उमग केसरतणू

(Narasinha Mehta)

लिहय सोढे पादलो

(Clāturī by Narasinha Mehta)

Dr. Kādyar-Dolāra, II-5

में पण जोया अक्षर रे मारी नीलवट केरडा

Īśvara mūla by Muraṇī date of copy
V S 1675 See *Br Kāśya Dīhana*
VI-465)

Konkani M has निदल = the forehead

[Mr K H Dhruva (Bhalana's *Īśidamanī* Notes Pp 210-211) derives निलवट in a needlessly artificial and unauthorized manner According to him the व is an adventitious addition to preserve quantity (मात्रा भयान्दानियमने अनुसरी माप जाळववा सातु) and ट is a स्वार्थे प्रत्यय added to प्र णलाह (He derives O G हनवट (=G हटपची) from हट in a similar manner) There are obvious flaws in this derivation —

- (a) The *āgama* व comes under special phonetic conditions only as in परोव्यु from प्रोय (प्रोत), and the like No such conditions exist here
- (b) There is no occasion for preservation of quantity because the accent has shifted from ला to नि and the आ is shortened, not needing any increase of quantity it being unaccented
- (c) ट termination in such cases is unknown It is only a postulated termination (in Skr originals) to account for the ट termination of अप —क generally regarded as the original of this ट being phonetically alien to ट,
- (d) If ट was the termination it should change to ड in coming into Guj (the double ट in पट्ट (which I show) prevents the ट from becoming ड)
- (e) If ट is tacked on what becomes of the ट proper of णलाह ?— णलाहट (णलवट) would involve a superfluity

(16) Kathiavadi G has परीपव

(17) Surat people use the word सलखणे

(18) दी is a Kathiavadi word Only in कदी (=sometimes) used in Gujarat proper do we find this दी

Dr Lessitori came across कदी only in *Ādinatha charitra* (A

D. 1550-1600) and ("Notes" § 98, (3), last portion) calls it an 'isolated form'. As we know, *કડી* is very common in Gujarati. Dr. Tessitori derives *કડી* from Skr. *कटाचित्* or *कटादि* through Ap **कट-इ* (with *इ* doubled according to Pischel's *Prākṛ Gr.* § 194) — This sign * (asterisk) appears to indicate the conjectural nature of the form — Dr. Tessitori suggests this derivation with some hesitation, for he says "If I am right in my derivation." The derivation seems very plausible. But it has the disadvantage of resorting to a conjectural form like *कट-इ* to justify the non-elision of *इ*. My derivation stands in no such need, and is supported by forms like *કોટી* (in poetry) which clearly points to *કોટ+ટી* (= *દિવસ*).

(19) *ચળિયો* (= a petticoat) must be from *ચરણ*, because it covers the feet of women.

(This is a conjectural derivation)

(19-20) The accent at first is on *ર* and *૨* (*ચરળિયો-ચરટિયો*), but in the hurry of speech it shifts to the first syllable, and the *anuvāsa* of *ર* becomes soft. This opens the way to the *સૌં* of *ર* and *૨*.

(21) For Dr. Bhandarkar's derivation from *મરતી* (Pr) and my reasons for adhering to my derivation see Lecture III, Pp 88-89 and n 25 *supra*

(22) *અંબોરહો* is found in Simla Bhat's *Padmāvatī-rā-līlā* (Dr. Kūṣya Dv'ana, Vol II P 294 l 1). But I do not know what *અંબોરો* itself to which the *હ* termination is affixed could be; however a guess may be permitted, and the following evolution may be suggested — *આમોરો* (as suggested by Mr. K. H. Dhruva, from *Dharmamāṇḍī* I-62), *આમોરવ* (*આમોરવ*) *આમોરવ*, *અમ્બોરવ*, *અંબોરહો* (મ being charged to *વ* strong, as in *અવારી* from Arabic *અમારી* (See *supra* P. 330), and *વ* changed to *ર*)

(23) *અંતરાગ જરી* is the idiom in Gujarati. I have read *અંતરાગળ ગરુ* in a magazine article written by a Sīrat gentleman, Mr. Chhotalal Dabhyabhai Igardar. This

goes to support the derivation from अंतराशन (अतरा = in the middle + अशन = eating)

- (24) कन्यवर्त = Breakfast, morning meal कलवो originally must have meant this (breakfast), but now it is confined to a symbolical breakfast consisting of hand sips of milk and sugar given amongst Vadanagar Nagars to the principal persons in a bride groom's party by the bride's people on their arrival with the bride groom's procession I have heard a Kathiavadi Sarasvata Brahmana use कलवो in the sense of 'breakfast'

The word undergoes fancy changes e.g. कलमलडो ("तु तो जन्म रे जमाईडा कलमलडो", wedding-song amongst Nagars) To such changes may be referred कर्मलो found in Bhaladars's *Dhrama a-Gita* (V S 1609)

कर्मलो ते माटे (पाटे) बेसी जमतो

(P 37/2 in the Ms. belonging to the Forles Gujarati Sabha's collection)

Cf also -(1) आ आही हरि बेसता रे जमता कर्मलडो खीर

(*Pāsa-Sahasrapad* Narasinha Mehta Pada LIV, St 5)

(2) कृष्ण आरोगे रुडो कर्मलो आहीरडानी साथ,

(*Dana Lila* by Narasinha Mehta Narsinha Mehta's poems 'Gujarati' Press Edition P 155 l 2)

The edition of the Gujarati Press prints कर्मलो erroneously no doubt for we find

इन्द्रादिक ब्रह्मादिक जेना चर्ण बदवा समीप नहि

त गोपाळ गोवाळा माहे जमे कर्मलो हुर दहि

(*Ibid* Appendix II, pada 2 St 3 P 576)

कलवो then व to म and the addition of a ल termination will give कलमलो and the first ल changed to र gives कर्मलो

There is at present a dish of rice cooked in curds and flavoured with mustard and salt which bears the name of कर्मलो amongst the Vadanagara Nagars It is possible that the कर्मलो mentioned in

the *Dina-Lila* &c was some such dish, a sort of porridge taken as breakfast, the कर्मलदो गीर marks a variation from curds to milk.

Vimala-prabandha, V, 78 has करंजो in the sense of करमो; ठापां पूर करंजा करी,

Evidently it is traceable to कन्वयर्त्त through करमो, कलजो, &c

It is possible to exclude this word from this *utearja* by taking कन्वयर्त्तु through the possible further steps, कन्डयर्त्तु, कल्यय, but there is just an element of doubt in this, hence I include the instance.

(20) My derivation of चगी is only tentative. चंदा = a slave चंगी = slavery, hence salutation to mark slavery, and, in saluting, one touches his forehead therefore the mark on the forehead, or rather between the eye brows. I admit this seems rather far-fetched and thin.

UTSARGA VIII

*Simplification of
conjunct and length
ening of the pre-
ceding vowel.*

Simplification of the conjunct and the lengthening of the preceding short vowel.

*The first member of an uninitia
homogeneous conjunct is dropped, and
the preceding short vowel is lengthened*

Notes—(a) By the term *homogeneous conjunct* I mean the conjunct obtained by doubling a consonant, the first member of which may, if the second or fourth letter of a class, have turned into the first or third respectively, e g

अकः—अक्, व्याघ्र.—वग्नु; दृढकं—दिहृदं

(b) (1) This homogeneous conjunct may either be that obtained in Prākṛit under the several *sūtras* on this subject given by Hemachandra which either note the dropping of a member of a heterogeneous conjunct or the substitution of an *addita* for such conjunct, and the further process involved in अनादी शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वम् (VIII-ii-89) and द्वितीयादयोर्योऽपि पूर्व (VIII-ii-90).

or, (2) it may be obtained, during the transit of words from the Prākṛit into Gujarātī, by the shifting of ह् as a member of a conjunct, to another place (generally the beginning of a word)

or the dropping of the ह् and the consequent doubling of the remaining member under the operation of the principle underlying the rule about शेषादेशयोद्धित्वम्.

(c) The लोप, dropping, of a member is only one of several evolutions which a conjunct undergoes under the general process of simplification. Others, viz. विश्लेष, preservation of the conjunct state, and weakening of a strong conjunct, will be dealt with in *utsargas* which will follow.

Examples —

(a) and (b)-(1)

Skṛ.	Pr. Ap. or Dêśya.	Guj.
कर्म	कम्मु	काम
चर्म	चम्मु	चाम(डुं)
सत्यं	सद्य	साद्ये
व्याघ्रः	वग्घु	वाघ
स्पर्शः	(पम्मु)	पास

(=the flavour or संस्कार left by the touch of something.)

सर्वः	सव्वु	साव
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(Kîthiavâdi word).

दुःखं	दुक्ख	दूख
दुग्धं	दुद्ध	दूध
भक्तं	भत्तु	भात
भक्तं	भत्तवं	भाधुं
जुम्बति	जुंभइ-जुम्मइ	जूमे
शब्द.	सद्दु	साद
तीक्ष्णं	तिक्खं	तीखुं ¹⁴⁴

144 तिक्क (क) means "bitter" and it would give तिक्क Pr, and it is possible for the क to be aspirated into ख under *utsarga* I-(स) given at the beginning of this chapter. M. has तिक्क which (by its ट especially) points to तिक्क as the original. After all, just as कटु (=sharp, pungent, तीक्ष्ण) changed its sense in G, and M. (कटु G, कटु M) into "bitter", so तिक्क may have changed the sense from "bitter" to "pungent." If we

दृष्टकं	दिष्टुं	दीष्टं
शिथिले	सिक्कल	शीले(ले)
उर्ध्वकं	उष्मत्	उमुं
चत्वरं	चत्वरु	चाचर
यत्प्रभः	यत्प्रह-यत्प्रभ	य्दायो
गृधः	गिद्ध	गीध
नग्नकः	नग्न	नागो
सुमुखा	सुक्का	भुग
सत्तरकः	सत्तर	साथरो
भूतनकं	भुक्तिभत्तं	भुंक्त्तुं
	(Désya) भुट्टं (°ट्टं)	भुट्टं
	" ठल्लो (°ल्लउ)	ठालो
	(=निर्धनः—then by लक्षणा it came to mean 'empty', which is the sense of G. ठालो.)	
	,, पद्धरं (°रुडं)	
	(=ऋजु; straight)	पापट्टं
	(Désya) बप्पो (बप्पु)	बाप ¹⁴⁵

accept this view, and I do not see why we should not, then तैद्य must be excluded from this list.

145. Śāstri Vrajāli (*Uttara mādā*, P. 114, also 11. 7. 37, 56) and, probably following him, Navāli (Vyutpatti-pāṭha, *uttara*, 2, P. 65), derive बाप form बापः. This is obviously wrong. There is no such word as बापः (or, as others give it, बापक.) meaning 'father' and to argue that बापकः="a sower means, "a father metaphorically is hardly acceptable. The व could not remain unchanged whereas प would give a single व. Besides, the initial व cannot be changed to ब in Gujarati (as it does in Hindi), only in uninitial व or one left after some phonetic change such as reduction of a conjunct or loss of a syllable (as in दि-वे; अद्-वे; उपविशति-उपविशद्-वशिष्-वशिष्) becomes ब in Gujarati, as a rule. And when we have, as a matter of fact, the word बप in *Ditya* ready to hand, there is no need to go out of our way in search of any fanciful and un-scientific derivation.

Hemachandra (*Abhidhāna-Chintāmaṇi*, III—220) gives बमा as one of the words meaning 'father' (वपति बीजं बमा) But I confess my inability to swallow such a fanciful connection between बप and बमा,

(Dêśya) तेहो (तेहु) तीह
 ,, णरुं (णरु) नारु
 (नरु is an unreal Sanskritized form of णरु,
 and must be discarded.)

(b) — (2)

तीक्ष्णकं	तिण्हउं—तिण्णउं	तीउं
स्तेक्ष्णकं	लण्हउं—नण्हउं नहणउं	नहाउं
कुणः	कणहु—कहणु कहलु	कहान
उष्णकं	उण्हउं—हुण्णउं हुणउं	हउं
ग्रीष्मः	गिम्हु—घिम्मु	यीम
प्रस्नवः	पण्हउ—प्हण्णउ	प्हानो

Sometimes, in certain words, the conjunct alternately under-
 goes *विश्लेष* (to be shown in *utsarga XV* below) or drops the first member of the Prākṛit
Process alternatve in certain cases. conjunct and lengthens the preceding vowel.

Examples:—

वार्ता	वत्ता	वात
or-direct		वारता
मार्गः	मग्गु	भाग
or-direct		मारग
कर्म	कम्मु	काम
or-direct		करम
गर्भः	गम्भु	गाभ
or-direct		गरभ
सर्वः	सन्दु	साव

especially as वत्ता would be वत्ता in Pr., unless वत्ता be a Sanskritized form of the Dêśya वरुो which is not likely, the difficulty about ण changing to व facing us here also, the change of त्त to वरु which I have noted in a previous *utsarga*, (*Supra*, p. 337), may be suggested here, but that means going too far on slender grounds.

सर्वः	or-direct	सर्व
		साप
	or-direct	सरप.

[Note:-(a) Except in the case of साप-सरप all the words in the above list bear a change of meaning in the alternative forms; thus:—

वात = talk, conversation; वास्ता = a story, a tale;

माग = room, space; मार्ग = a road, way;

काम = work, action; करम = action in the sense of fruit-carrying, fate-creating factors: fate;

गाम् = lotus; गरम् = core, internal substance;

मात्र = complete; सर्व = all.

(b) In Prākṛit Grammar, as written by Hemachandra, in the

*The process in
Prākṛit and Guja-
rātī contrasted.*

portion which treats of conjuncts, the लोप is mentioned in some cases of the first member, and in some cases of the second member (ऊर्ध्वलोप or अधोलोप). But for the most part this लोप is artificial, from the point of view of simplification of conjuncts, so also are the single consonants which are given as *ādṛśas* of double or treble conjuncts, all these (viz. लोप and the आदेश) being but *en passant* changes. For अनादी शेषादेशयोर्द्वित्वम् (Si. Hc. VIII-ii-89) points to the further and final change viz. the doubling of the remnants and the *ādṛśas*. Thus this is no simplification in the sense of reduction to a single consonant, it is a simplification in the limited sense of reduction of heterogeneous to homogeneous conjuncts; but no more. (Only अनादी excludes the initial conjunct, in which case the single remnants or *ādṛśas*, remain undoubled, and that is a case of true simplification, but, for the purpose of our present *utsarga* there is artificiality in these *interim* changes.) Only a few instances are exceptional, in that the single consonant (लोप or आदेश) remains undoubled. These are those dealt with in Si. Hc. VIII-ii-92 to 97 (both inclusive).¹⁴⁶

146. It is noteworthy that while Sanskrit Grammars, dealing as they do with formations in a language actually turned into shape, give *sūtras* which handle artificial *interim* conditions of the elements of grammatical

In Gujarātī, on the other hand, after the संयोगलोप under this *utsarga*, no new conjunct is evolved, this is simplification of the conjunct, real and true. This is to be noted specially, as also the fact that the संयोगलोप happens to the conjunct evolved in

formations Prākṛit grammars, on the other hand dealing as they do with actual phonetic changes which mark the transit from Sanskrit to Prākṛit, handle formations which are inspired by natural causes. This being so, the artificiality shown above in Hēmachandra's treatment, must be noted is only in the restricted sense connected with the aspect of simplification of conjuncts. For the same reason i.e. the distinction between Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammars noted above, the absurd length to which Chanda's artificiality goes really jars on our phonetic sense. An instance or two will explain what I mean.

Chanda tries to simplify his grammar by combining in his third chapter the rules for single as well as conjunct consonants. Thus he prescribes लोप for any one of the components of a conjunct and prescribes an *addha* for the remaining one and then दिव of that. As a result

(a) he becomes untrue to *real phonetic* mutations and principles, and (1) he becomes cumbrous (गौरवपूर्ण).

For example, III—1 says य् and र् coming after ह् (in a conjunct) are dropped and cites मुहने । मु रने । जिह्वा । जिम्मा । and then he has III 21 to change ह् to झ and III 21 to change ह् to झ्.

Here the really true phonetic history, viz. the change of य् to र् (in the former instance) and र् to झ् (in the latter) and then the aspiration of the two into झ् and झ् by the ह्, is all lost say, perverted.

Then Chanda has three *sūtras* for changing ह् to झ्, ह् to झ् and ह् to झ्—(e.g. गृह-घर, बाह्य — बहो and जिह्वा-जिम्मा), —III-19, 20 and 21. This is गौरव and on the top of it untrue phonetic history.

Again for घ् he has two *sūtras*, one for ह् to झ् and another for झ् to घ्, III-19 20. This is untrue phonetic history, and almost ludicrously absurd. It reminds me of the derivation of बहने by a nameless person, which he stated that घ changed to ब, यि to दे and नी to न and the मणिनी (Skṛ) became बहने (G). As I have already pointed out (supra, P 109, n 54) the stages are घृ to गृ (गृह), shifting of ह् to the beginning (गृह), and the union of गृ and ह् into घ, —घ. Hēmachandra, with his *addhas* for whole conjuncts and the like is more sensible than Chan-

Prakrit from the Sanskrit words. However one exception to the first part noted here deserves special notice. It is as already stated in the beginning of this *utsarga* that when ह् gets away from a conjunct either by being dropped or by shifting of place the remaining consonant first gets doubled and the preceding vowel is lengthened.]

The सयोगलोप mentioned in this *utsarga* is almost invariably उपगोप only in the case of the separation of ह् from a conjunct it is the अपगोप (or it is the shifting of the lower ह्), e.g. तिण्ड-निग-तातु कण्ड-कण्ठ्य-वदान. In all other instances-कण्डि-कण्ड-कण्डि निगण्ड-तीनु ओट-दोड it is the first member that is dropped. In words like ओट् the vowel preceding the conjunct is long and hence there is no occasion for lengthening it.

We may just glance at the historical antiquity of the principle underlying this *utsarga* सयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वर दीर्घत्व. Dr. Tessitori remarks that the 'simplification of double consonants and the lengthening of the preceding vowel which is the chief phonetical characteristic of modern vernaculars comparable with Apabhramsa had already begun long before the fourteenth century (of the Christian Era) - See his Notes on O. W. R. Ind. Ant. February 1914 p. 22. Of course he draws this inference from the operation of this principle merely in the single form ह्रस्व (termination) changed to ह्रस्व in the *Uttara Pradeshi*. Perhaps it would be more correct to state in view of this feature being a distinctive character of the modern vernaculars that this process has its बीजम् indications in the change of ह्रस्व to ह्रस्व in the fourteenth century. For we can take it still further back - only as बीजम् i.e. in a latent form - to the times of Hemachandra and earlier as we have seen behind in the case of दण्डि changed to दण्डि, the working of this same principle¹⁴⁷ the द being first changed to द, then to द, (which turns into ह) and on द becoming द द is lengthened into द.

I say earlier than Hemachandra, because the form must have been in existence in the language long enough for him to record it in his grammar as a settled feature, and also because the Prakrits had ceased to be spoken languages in his time — In one exceptional *sūtra* only does Hemachandra note in express terms the lengthening of a vowel preceding a conjunct which has dropped one of its members दस्यखययसा ययसा दीर्घ (VIII 1 43) Of course this affects the first लोप of a conjunct existing in Sanskrit where as our *ulsa ga* deals with the dropping of a member of a conjunct derived after this dropping in Prakrit by अनादौ शेषादेशयोद्धिम्बम् which is barred in the above *sūtra*

But we can go still further back to the Sanskrit period and see the operation of this principle in that language You have only to look at Pāṇini VIII iii 13 (दीर्घे लोप) and VIII iii 14 (रोरि) which note the dropping of द immediately followed by द् and of द् similarly followed by द् and then to look at VI iii 111 (द्वलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽण) under which when these द् and द् are dropped the preceding अ, इ, or उ are lengthened Thus we have लिद्+त्त=लिद्+द=लीद similarly गुद्+त्त=गुद्+द=गीद मिद्+त्त=मिद्+द=मीद, रद्+त्त=रद्+द=रीद वद्+त्त=उद्+द=ऊद, निद्+ख=नीख We can thus see this principle operating in a latent form no doubt but still operating even before the time of Pāṇini (I say 'before' on the same ground as I gave in the case of Hemachandra just now viz that the forms must have been in vogue long enough in the language for Pāṇini to recognize them) i e before the eighth century B C (see Dr Bhandarkar's Lectures P 301 for the date of Pāṇini) All this I need not repeat, marks only the latent state of the principle as indicating the tendency of human speech to simplification and adjustment in the shape of preservation of phonal quantity at the same time. As to the operation of the principle in full swing we must place it in the period when our modern vernaculars began to assume distinct shape and existence

Yet we still find that one or two isolated modern vernaculars have adhered to the old conjunct unsimplified, and therefore the

preceding short vowel unlengthened in form (being long by position as it would be none the less). These vernaculars are Sindhi Panjabi and Kachchhi which in this particular stand out strongly aloof from the rest of the cognate languages Marathi, Gujarati, Bangali Oriya and to a certain extent Hindi for Hindi has काम, हाय &ca as well as मक्खन and such words occasionally, but this is among rare exceptions, and we may class Hindi along with the general group in this respect Sindhi Panjabi and Kachchhi thus have कम्म, हत्प, अन्न &ca, where the other vernaculars have काम, हाय, आन &ca I may observe here that, while recognising the double consonants in the case of Panjabi, Dr Sir R G Bhandarkar, following older writers on Sindhi grammar and language and compilers of Sindhi dictionaries, represents the Sindhi sounds in these words by कम्पु, ह्पु &ca, i e without the double consonants म्म, ह्प, &c Sir George Grierson also adopts the same view In an article in the J. R A S 1913 A D P 148, he represents कम्पु क्पु (=the ear)-or rather क्पु क्पु—thus—*kan**, *kan**

(This diacritical u above the line is obviously intended to mark the peculiarly short and spasmodic sound of उ in कम्पु &ca) Beames (I, p 153) also labours under the same belief, viz that "Sindhi and Panjabi prefer short vowels, but P generally follows them up by a double consonant while S does not" (By the way, it is inverting the order of phonetic evolution to say that P ' follows up the short vowel by a double consonant ")

Now with due deference to all these writers and lexicographers I think that theirs is not the correct representation of the actual Sindhi sound I would only point to the metrical test a test which will not fail us or mislead us in matters of phonal quantity. In verse अन्न (or अन्नु), for instance, would alone satisfy the metrical condition by its double consonant and consequent *गुरुत्व* of the preceding short vowel अन्नु would fail—in a line like this—

१४६ "छा मजाहसा अज्जु आ कहेही सिटी हे चादणी"

Here the rhythm of this line (which resembles the Gujarati हरिगीत scheme of metre in this case) would suffer if अज्जु were substituted for the conjunct-possessing अज्जु.

A Sindhi scholar of great repute—Mirza Kalich Beg of Hyderabad (Sindh)—informs^{१४७} me that कम्मु and कम्म both are

148 I quote this line from memory as I heard it sung in an adaptation of "*The Merchant of Venice*" rendered by Mirza Kalicha Beg and performed by the students of the D J. Arts College of Karachi at Hyderabad, Sindh in 1896 or 1897 A. D. A word here or there may be different there from the original, but I am perfectly sure of the metrical value of अज्जु therein

149. I subjoin an extract from Mirza Kalich Beg's letter dated 15th December 1915 in answer to my queries about some features of the Sindhi Language —

"As for the double consonants, as in Sindhi words *Kammu*, *Ajju* etc. we represent it in Sindhi with a mark called *shad*. Its form is *w* given over the letter. It is taken from Arabic, like almost all other forms and letters too. Our Sindhi is called Arabic-Sindhi and so this particular mark is used and I think it serves the purpose very well. When we say *Kam* or *Aj* we do not use that mark, but this form is used in Persian only where the last consonant is often unmoved, i. e. has no vowel mark. But in Sindhi the last letters of consonants are always moved and then the consonant may be single or double. If it is *Kammu*, we read it with some force (कम्मु). Then we give only the *shad* mark on *m*. *Kam* is one syllable and *Kammu* has two syllables and so the metrical quantity is different too. Accordingly in Sindhi poetry it is counted one or two syllables respectively in scanning. In Persian poetry too, it is so. Sometimes where there is a single consonant we use double consonant with a poetical license or we break one syllable into two. But that is only in poetry, e. g. the king's name *Jamshed* has two syllables, but in Persian poetry sometimes it is made *Jammushed* (3 syllables). In Sindhi we follow Persian and Arabic in grammar, prosody &c."

I am afraid Mirza Kalich Beg has depended only on the number of syllables and not on the quantity of each syllable which is an important factor. *Kammu* in addition to having two syllables, has three moræ, while *Kam* has only two moræ. But substantially the above quoted views bear out my case for the double consonant, the alternative single consonant being more or less the result of inaccurate appreciation of

Bhândarkar has treated the principle independently and in detail but made incidental mention of it. Dr Bhandârkar's reference to the principle (at P 198 of his Lectures), though brief and incidental, is fully suggestive, no doubt, while Mr Beames touches merely the fringe of the question in a casual manner. (See his Vol, I, § 41 (pp 152 156) §§ 72 98, which deal almost entirely with inter relation of the components of nexuses and their modifications)

UTSARGA IV

The dropping of the first member of a conjunct without lengthening the preceding short vowel

सयोगलोप पूर्वस्वर अविकृत

This *utsarga* deals practically with exceptions to the last *utsarga*, but the instances are many, and the cause or causes of the apparent violation of the essential principle of balancing of quantity deserve attention I, therefore, put this as a separate *utsarga*

Simplification of conjunct unattended by lengthening of preceding vowel

In some words the conjunct is simplified without a corresponding adjustment of quantity i. e., the first member of the conjunct is dropped, but the preceding short vowel remains short, as a result of certain counter acting forces

Examples —

Skrt	Pr. Ap or Deśya	Guj
पश्चात्	पच्छइ (Si. H. VIII iv 420)	पजी ¹⁵⁰
चित्त	चित्तु	चित
उत्सग	उच्छगु	उछग
उद्गात	उद्गात	उछात

150 If पाछु पाछो, पाछी, adjective, is taken into account this may come under विकल्प But पश्चात्क would be the true adjectival source of पाछु, and then पच्छइ &c. would be the steps thus that would fall under the general rule and पछी, indeclinable, be the exception

विश्रुतिः	विष्णुती	विनंती
पापदिः	¹⁵¹ पारदी (Si. III. VIII-i-235)	पारपी
व्याख्यानं	वक्तव्य	वराण
		=praise. This involves slight change in sense which is allowable)
परिवेदकः	परिस्तेभ	
	परिसेवड	परशेवो
कपूरं	कण्पूर	पपूर
आधर्य	अच्छरिग्नु	अचरज
गुर्जरः	गुजर	गुजर
चक्रमाकः	चक्राओ	चक्रवो
	(Si. III. VIII-i-8)	
एकस्थकं	एकटुवं	एकटुं
प्रतिष्ठाया	पदिच्छाभा (पदिच्छापव) }	{ पट्टो; पट्टायो
सुखधाराः	सुतहार	सुतार
सुवर्णकारः	सुवर्णभार	
	सुण्णार	सुनार
चमकृतं	चमकिकभं	चमकपुं
नक्षः	नक्षु (Si. III. VIII-ii-99)	नक्ष ¹⁵²
पशवारिकं	पक्षगारिकं	पक्षवाहियं
भट्टः	भट्ट	भट
एदकः	यदुव	यदो
नाम्नि	णत्थि	नपी

151. पारदं=भस्मेटक, hunting, is a *Drīya* word (*Drīya* ndma-midda, VI-77.) Now far पारदिः is a real Sanskrit word, or the *drīya* nature of पारदं is correct, it is difficult to decide पारदिः=hunting, पारपी=hunter. This change is not unusual. Or पारदिः may be taken as a word for 'hunter', though it would be far-fetched.

152. If नक्ष is taken as a *Tatparya*, this may be excluded from the list. But नक्ष, being such a familiar word, and नक्षु Pr. furnish such a special facility, that I am inclined to retain it in this list.

चतुरस्रं	चउरस्सु	चारिस
मष्ट.	मस्सु	मळ
भद्रकं	भळउं ¹⁵³	भळुं
परकीयकं	पारकउं <i>St. Hē. VIII-1-44</i>	पाखुं
पत्रकं	पत्तरउं	पतरुं
शक्नोति	सकाइ *	सके(छे)
154 { अंगरक्षकं	अंगरकखउं	अंगरखुं
{ पादरक्षकं	direct पगरकखउं	पगरखु
	णत्था	नध्य (विकल्प—नाध्य ¹⁵⁵)

153 I can find no direct authority for the change of द्र to ल्ळ either in *St. Hē* or *Pr. Prak*, or *Prāl Laksh*. An indirect indication is furnished in *St. Hē. VIII 1 82* which deals with the change of आ to ओ in the word आर्द्र, and gives the instance ओल्ल, अल्ल and अद्. Again in *Kumārāpāda Charita VIII 76*, in the gloss *Hēmachandra*, dealing with भल्ल in भल्लत्तण and भल्लप्पण, says: भल्लेति शीघ्रादित्वात् भद्र तस्य भावो भद्रत्वं भद्रता, this refers to शीघ्रादीनां बहुलत्वादयः *St. Hē VIII iv 422*, but as भद्र भल्ल is not cited therein we must understand him to extend शीघ्रादि to भद्र as an आकृतिगण. This seems to have been arranged, because द्र is changed to ल्ल in a limited number of words (आर्द्र, भद्र, पद्र). If भल्ल and पल्ली are taken as *Dēśya* words, all trouble can be saved, भद्र, पद्र may be regarded as Sanskritized words based on भल्ल-पल्ली. But underlying all these must be accepted the principle of the change of द्र to ल्ल.

154 These two words are not likely to have existed in original Sanskrit, but they are placed here as synthetic words to explain the derivation.

155 The sense of "nose string" (= a bullock's nose string) is the only one given by *Hēmachandra* in his *Dēśi nāma-mālā IV-17*. जल्था नासारउज्जु । जल्था नासारउज्जु ॥ In the illustration he gives जल्थारहिओसहेण (= नासारउज्जुरहितवृषभेण). A woman's nose ring is an ornament unknown to Sanskrit literature or ancient Indian civilization, so far as I can ascertain. I find no word for it in any dictionary or *Kōśa*, or in literature, before the Moslem advent. This ornament was evidently a Moslem importation during the later centuries of their Indian occupation. This is my belief founded on negative and partly positive evidence. I should be glad of any light thrown on this subject.

In an article on 'The Dress of Ardvī Sāra, and the toilette of the

Dīḍya	डिनाली	डिनाळ
"	कटारी	{ कटारी कटार
"	कटच्छू	कटछी
"	कच्छरो	कछरो
"	कप्पीओ	कपेयो
"	कथन्ड पथन्डा ¹⁵⁶	कथड पाथड
"	पथारी (Dīsi Nama-mūlā, VI-69)	पथारी

There are some instances of विकल्प for this *utarga*, whereby either the preceding vowel is lengthened optionally or the conjunct is kept unchanged optionally. Thus:—

अरण्यं	{ अरण्यु रण्यु }	रण;	रान
कपटयं	कप्पडयं	कपटुं (=an article of clothing);	कापड (=cloth),
		157 कपटुं (=a bodice)	
158 { प्रस्तरः.	पथरड	पथरो	
प्रस्तरः	पथर -	पथ्यर	

Hebrew Lady" by R. P. Umrigar, at pp. 95 ff. of the "Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume," I find nose-rings mentioned among the Hebrew Lady's ornaments in De Quincey's essay on the "Toilette of the Hebrew Lady", and also as ornaments worn by men among the Medianites."

156. Dr. Bhindārkar derives कथडपाथड by metathesis of कथड पाथड M., Pr. कथड-ड पथड-ड, &c. कथड-ड पथड-ड. (His Lectures, p. 190, last two lines). The word I have relied on is taken from Dīḍi-rāmā-mūlā I-122.

157. "कथडपथु ते रानु डीछडीक"

(Festive song in vogue amongst the Nāgar women).

158. These sets of words are on a special footing, in as much as the change is connected with the tacking on or taking away of the क suffix.

158	{	पक्षः	पक्षउ then change of gender; पक्षउं	पक्षु ¹⁵⁹
		पक्षः	पक्षु	पांख
158	{	गर्दभकः	गर्दभउ	गधेडो
		गर्दभकः	गर्दभउ	गधो
		कर्परं	खप्परं	{ सप्पर खोपरी ¹⁶⁰
		Dêśya	उज्जहं	{ उज्जह उज्जह

The principle underlying this *utsarga* depends on the influence of accent and the length or shortness of the subsequent syllable. The short vowel remains unchanged if the succeeding syllable is long or accented; e. g. उछंग, गधेडो, विनंती, छिनाळ, सुतार, सुनार, कटारी &c.. Here, the second syllable in these words is long and accented; hence the first vowel is short in spite of the simplification of the conjunct.

Similarly, in परशेवो, पढलायो, the accent which, in the original, was on the second syllable (रि, डि), shifts on to the third syllable (शे, ला); and in एकहुं it moves from क (in एकहुं) to ए (in एकहुं). Hence the vowel preceding the conjunct remains short.

In उथल पाथल—उ remains unaccented, and प of पथल becomes accented, hence उ is short and प lengthened into पा, and the accent being fully placed on पा, the थ in either of the थs remains unaccented and so unlengthened, in spite of the simplification of the two लs (that in उथल and that in पथल).

UTSARG XV.

विशेष or dissolution of the conjunct.

A conjunct, non-initial or initial, undergoes विशेष (dissolution).

158. See bottom of the last page.

159. पोताना पखा नव भुवे दाड चामडा मूरख भुवे (Akho)

160. The preceding अ here is changed to ओ instead of being lengthened homogeneously into आ.

NOTES:—

(a) This विच्छेप generally takes place in words coming direct from Skr., but it also occurs in words coming through Pr..

(b) The principle of विच्छेप has its source in rare cases of विप्रकर्ष in the Prākṛits: e. g. पूर्य becomes पुर्य in Śaurasēni (Si. III. VIII-iv-270); शै-पै become रित (Si. III. VIII-ii-105) in Mahārāṣṭrī; conjuncts with a ह split up into इल, किलेसो &c. (Si. III. VIII-ii-106). See also the sūtras about विप्रकर्ष in Vararuchi's *Prāḍīpta-Prakāśa*.

The distinction in Gujarātī is that it always has an अ between the consonants split up by विच्छेप.

[For further remarks on विच्छेप, विप्रकर्ष and स्वरभक्ति which is the ultimate source of this principle, see *supra* Pp. 117-118, n. 5 at P. 118, and note A on स्वरभक्ति at the end of Lecture IV, section 1].

Examples:—

सूर्यः	सूरज
भार्या	भारजा
मार्गः	मारग
याता	यारता
सर्पः	सरप
सर्गः	सरख
गर्भः	गरभ
कर्म	करम
गर्गः	गरख
हर्षः	हरख
धर्मः	धरम
वर्णः	वरण (=caste)
चैत्रः	चैतर
प्रतापः	परताप
प्रभुः	परभु
छेप्ता	छेपेताम

लग्न
विघ्न

लग्न } “वाणीना लग्न
वघ्न } ने क्रोडसे वघ्न”
(Proverb)

[लग्न Skt does not mean ‘marriage’ (लग्न Guj) This sense seems to have come by रञ्जना, because a marriage is usually performed on a happy conjunction or position of the stars (शुभ लग्न)]
[Notes—(1) The instances मार्ग to कर्म have also a विकल्प, मार्ग &c as stated in *Utsarga* VIII above, q v

(2) ग्राहक, प्रताप and प्रभु are instances of an initial conjunct dissolved while in श्लेषमा both the conjuncts—initial and non initial—are dissolved]

Words coming through Prākṛit

Skt	Pr or Ap or Deśya	Guj
विक्रयः	¹⁶¹ विम्ब	वक्रो
सप्रहर	सप्रहउ	सघरो
आश्रय	आधउ	आशरो
निधेनि	¹⁶² निसेणी	नीसरणी
ग्रहण	ग्रहणु	घरण
ग्राहक	(ग्राभक)	घराक
अग्राहक or अग्रहक	अग्रहउ	अघरु
प्राघुणक	प्राघुणउ	पहरणो
भाद्रपद	भाद्रवउ	भाद्रवो
कोदरा (plar)	कोदरा (र् dropped then)	कोदरा
पत्रं	पत्रउ	पतरु ¹⁶³
चित्रपति	चित्रे—चित्तरइ	चीतरे(छ)
मृत्रपति	मृत्रइ—मृत्तरइ	मृतरे(छ)
राशौ	रात्रिहि—रात्रइ	रातर ¹⁶⁴

161 The र्, as a second (lower) member of a conjunct, remains in Apabhraṃśa. Hence विक्रउ and the subsequent forms in the list.

162 Pr has निसेणी and Deśya has नीसणिमा. But Gujarātī retains the र्, hence I take the Ap form निधेण.

163 पत्रं=a sheet of metal पतरु=the leaf of a tree (पतरु is a Sūratī word)

164 रात्रे has come to be used as an individual (it cannot be

प्रमाणेन	प्रमाणे ¹⁶⁵	परमाणे (=according to.)
प्रमाणकः	प्रमाणकं	परमायुं (=measure)
उपर्वकः	उपर्वक	सपरमो (सपरमो रक्षादी= a festive day)
प्रपा	प्रपा	परव
कोटिः	कोटी-कोटी ¹⁶⁶	करोड (=ten million)
द्वुक्तः	द्वुक्त ¹⁶⁷	घरो
एकादश	एगारह अग्यारह (by a peculiar but partial metathesis of ए and आ, wherein आ throws an अ back to the beginning and at the same time retains its old place). अगयार ¹⁶⁸ अगियार	

In some cases after the विच्छेप has taken place, the first member of the conjunct gets doubled, (in the transitional stage, or continues so in the final step too), as a re-acting effect of the strong conjunct consonant in the precedent

After dissolution of conjunct the first member gets doubled in certain cases.

night'); just like स[रे] (=In the evening), the र in स[रे] may be due to false analogy with रा[रे].

165. Apabhramśa has ए in the instrumental (Si. III. VIII-iv 333) in the case of words ending in अ.

166. The र is added, after the fashion of Apabhramśa (Si. III. VIII-iv-399). An *utsarga* on this basis will follow later on.

167. See, Si. III. VIII-ii-80. It will explain the Prākṛit retention of र, and the change by व्यत्यय from हर. Hīmachandra mentions, with apparent doubt, that द्र itself is Sanskrit—द्रद्वयमपि कश्चित् संसृज्य मन्वते ॥

168. The change of अ to इ in वि is under *utsarga* III-(f) in Lecture IV section I; see Pp. 232-3 *supra*, or, as suggested there, it may be a case of ररमडि like इनिपाडि]

stage, (although, in some cases, the total *mātra*-quantity of the syllables increases thereby); e. g.--

छत्रं	छत्तरं	छापुं
छत्रं	छत्तु	छत्तर
छत्तु would give छत्त=ceiling		
पत्रं	पत्तरं	{ पत्तुं पात्तुं
(पत्तं would give पत्तुं)		
अस्ति	* अस्तति—* अस्तइ	
	अच्छइ-अउइ-उइ	छे
चित्रयति	चित्रेइ-चित्तरइ	चीतरे (छे)
मूत्रयति	मूत्रेइ-मुत्तरइ	मूतरे (छे)
निद्रा	निद्रा	नीर

In these instances, अस्ति—having three *mātrās*, becomes अस्तइ with four *mātrās*; So निद्रा—a four-*mātrā* word—becomes निद्रा with five *mātrās*. छत्तर and पत्तुं are instances wherein the doubled consonant continues in the final state.

UTSARGA XVI

The non-Initial conjunct remains unsimplified.

In some words, 'under the influence of accent, the conjunct remains unsimplified

up to the Gujarātī stage.

Examples:—

Skr.	Pr., Ap., or Dśya	Guj.
सप्तदश	सत्तरइ	सत्तर
पञ्चकः	सट्ठ	छट्ठो
अपत्यं	अवचउं	बच्चुं
वृद्धकः	वुद्धइ	169 बुद्धो
प्रप्यतः	पत्थु	पथ्यर
छत्रं	छत्तु	छत्तर

169. बुद्धो seems to have been taken into Gujarātī from Hindi.

पत्रकं:	पत्रकं	170 पत्रुं
सप्तकः	सप्तक	171 सप्तो
अष्टकः	अष्टक	171 अष्टो
चतुष्कः	चतुष्क	171 चार्कको

Cases of विकल्प. In some words this retention of the double consonant is optional; the alternative form with the simplified conjunct, has the preceding vowel lengthened generally; thus:—

कक्षा	कच्छा	172 कच्छो or काच्छी
प्रस्तरः	पत्थरु	172 पत्थर or पथरो
पक्वकः	पक्व	{ पक्वो or पाक्वो (=clever; cunning).
कर्परः	क्षप्परं	173 क्षप्पर and क्षोपरी
कृष्कं	174 कृष्करं	{ कृष्णं and कृष्णं 175
(Dīśya)	क्षुदं	175 क्षुदं, क्षुदं
(,,)	वदितो	वदितो, वदितो 175
(,,)	वज्रदं	वज्रद, वज्रद

Note:—In the above list the double aspirates in the words in Gnj. call for an explanation. Phonetically the conjuncts

170. पत्रुं=A leaf; then, a playing card.

171. सप्तो, अष्टो, चोदो are the seven, eight and four of the playing cards; and the original Sanskrit words are only put as formal originals. They do not exist in Skr. in that sense.

172. काच्छी and पथरो are obtained by affixing the क termination.

173. क्षोपरी shows an unusual change of अ to ओ; in पथरो the alternative is an unchanged short vowel.

क्षप्पर=The skull used as the begging bowl of Śiva or Kṣī.

क्षोपरी=The skull of an animal.

174. कृष् is not mentioned in हरिद्रादिपत्र (Si. III. VIII-i-254) for the change of र to ल, but I have taken कृष्ण on the analogy of that *gaṇa*, as it ends with कृष्णि and may therefore include kindred cases.

175. कृष्णं, क्षुदं, वदितो;—the double consonant here signifies intensity. So would the conjunct in कृष्णो, वदितो, क्षुदं &c.

ought to have the homogeneous unaspirate as the first member (as in the Prākṛit words); but until a few years ago when the Educational Department decided to adopt the truly phonetic conjunct (ङ्, क्ख &ca.), it was the practice inside and outside the Department to have both the members aspirates. I have adhered to the older practice for three reasons: (1) It would be needless pedantry to adopt the truly phonetic form; (2) after the aspirate attains द्वित्व the sound that will be uttered will be automatically that of the unaspirate plus aspirate conjoined, even if we write it with the double aspirate; and (3) there should be no interference with the existing practice under these circumstances.

UTSARGA XVII

*Non-initial strong
conjunct becomes
weakened.*

A non-initial strong conjunct becomes a weak conjunct in certain words, (सबलसंयोग turns into निर्बलसंयोग), and the preceding vowel is lengthened in some cases.

Example:—

	Skr.	Guj.
(1)	कक्य	काक्य
(2)	नित्य	नित्य
(3)	वैद्य	वेद्य, then वैद.
(4)	समस्या	समस्या
(5)	धन्य	धन्य भाग्य
(6)	भाग्य	भाग्य
(7)	राज्य	राज्य-राज
(8)	मध्य	मध्य
(9)	असद्य	(असद्य then) असद
(10)	साद्य	साद्य
(11)	कल्याण	कल्याणदास

(12) कलद्रूप

कलद्रूप

(13) मल्लघारी

मल्लघारी

Explanations and remarks:—

(1) The य which was strong in कल्य (Skr.) is weak (लुप्रयत्न) in कल्य (G.). It appears as कलि in the *Mugdhārābodha Auktika* (V. S. 1150) P. 16. Col. 2:—आहु अय कलि कल्पे गियकलि. It is possible the य in कल्य was evolved out of the इ in कलि.

(2). नित्य with a weak य is frequent in G.; cf. नित्य भविरसे इहं भरणो (*Kusumārāṭh*, P. 53. st. 3; Narasimharāo Bhojānāth).

(8) सखम्पि हरि रंगि राधि
वृंदावनि गोपीमध्य नाधि

(Padmanābha; copy v. s. 1715; see *Guj.-Sālapatra* XII, May number; Mr. Chhaganlāl V. Rāvaṭa's article in the *Gujarātī* of 13th August 1914 reproduced therein.)

मध्य may be a further evolution of मयि O. W. R; though मध्य would in the ordinary course change into मय्य Pr..

(9) असह Skr. has an active sense ('unable to endure'), not passive like असह; असह (G.) has a passive sense and is derived as above. अलभ (G.), अवय (G.) would be from अलभ्य (Skr.), अकप्य (Skr.); (Pr. अलम्भ, अवय.)

(10) साध is a good Skr. word, an abstract noun from सह, if the *Rāmāyaṇa* is taken as an authority. (याद्-मात्रेणापि रामस्य कर्तव्ये साधयुक्तमम्) *Aṣṭhindhī-kāṇḍa*, LVIII, 12; See also *Sundara Kāṇḍa*, I-133; 147). Apte does not give साध.

If we take साहाय्य (Skr.) as the original of साध, the य in the Skr. word is of course strong, which is weakened in G..

(11). कल्याणदास. It is only in proper nouns of this type (कल्याणदास &c.) that the conjunct is weakened. कल्याण by itself preserves the strong conjunct.

(12) कलद्रूप.—The द्र is a strong conjunct in Skr.—In G. usage, assisted by hurry in pronunciation, it is weakened and the द्र is sounded as a syllable of one *r* *ir* i.

(18). The ह is weakened in daily *tadbhāsa* usage. Cf. वृंशवनि गोपीमधु नाचि। साचो सोदि ब्रह्मचारी॥ (Padmanābha, just quoted above, under (8).); see *supra*, *utsarga* I (क) (in this section of Lecture IV), pp. 290-291 where ह् is also shown as weak in प्रह्लाद in Bhīma's *Harī-Līlā*.

Note:—It will be noticed that all the words contain a conjunct with य as its second member,—except in the case of फल्गू and ब्रह्मचारी, where इ and ह् are the second and first members. The conjunct is weakened by the softening of the strong (गुरुप्रयत्न) य (semi-consonant as Dr. Hoernle would call it) into the weak (लघुप्रयत्न) य (semi-vowel, as Dr. Hoernle would call it).¹⁷⁶

As regards इ and ह् also, Hēmachandra, in his *Chhandonūśāna* (छन्दोऽनुशासन), in *sūtra* 6 of *Adhyāya* I, excludes conjuncts con-

License permitted by Hēmachandra as regards the weakening of a conjunct containing इ or ह्; Chhandonūśāna, 1-6.

taining इ and ह् from the function of rendering the preceding vowel *guru*; which means that the conjuncts are regarded as weak; as he puts it, एष्वतीनप्रयत्नत्वं संयोगस्य गुरुत्वाभावे हेतुः॥ Not only does he allow this license to *Prākṛit* prosody, but even to *Sanskṛit* prosody. His

instances speak for themselves:—

- (a) स्पृष्टं त्वयेत्यपह्रियः खलु कीर्तयन्ति ॥
- (b) धनं प्रदानेन श्रुतेन कर्णौ ।
- (c) एतद्विवो निहृततीति श्रुदे न कस्य ॥
- (d) तव ह्रियापह्रियो मम ह्रीरभूच्च
छशिग्रहेपि द्रुतं न धृता ततः ।
बदलभामरमेचकतामसं
मम प्रिये क्व समेष्यति तत्पुनः ॥

The license in (a) is just bearable; so also in (b) where the conjunct's being at the beginning of a separate word makes it further bearable. But निहृत as a case of weak conjunct in (c) is hardly fitting and, worse still, (d) heaps up as many as seven instances of license, more or less atrocious. Surely this license

176. See his Introduction to his edition of the *Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇa* p. xxvii, § 4

must belong to a decadent period of Sanskrit literature, wherein classic rigidity had become extremely slack, if these instances indicate a prevailing tendency and not individual license. I notice this state of things as it throws a significant light on the gradual history of this weakening of conjuncts.

UTSARGA XVIII

*Strengthening of
a weak conjunct in
certain cases*

Strengthening of the weak conjunct.

(निर्बल सयोग turned into सबल सयोग)

This is the reverse of the last *utsarga*, it may be simply stated thus

In some words a weak conjunct is turned into a strong one in consequence of the य (coming as a second member of the conjunct) being regarded erroneously as a strong य, although it is weak

Examples

Skr	Guj
अगति	अगत्य
प्रति	प्रत्ये
दाक्षिणी	दाक्ष्यण
(अत्रारः)-Pr अत्रारः	अत्यार
अत्रारः	

Notes —(a) निर्मल्य and आमन्या are two more words where the य conjunct is strong. The former is formed in a hybrid manner by writing Skr निम् with Persian मल and giving it a false Sanskrit ring by adding the य at the end. True निर्मल्य is a Skr word but it does not bear the sense of worthless which it bears in Gujarati.

The Sanskrit word निर्मल्य means

- (1) (Ally) Stainless pure
- (2) (Noli) Purity
- (3) The remains of an offering to deity such as flowers.
- (4) Flowers used and cast off faded flowers
- (5) Remains in general

The meaning (4) may be argued as the source of नमालु by *lakṣhaṇā* but I think it would involve a strain

The other word, आमन्त्रा, meaning in Guj 'respect', 'obedience,' is not traceable to any known Sanskrit word, it may be a fanciful or erroneous combination of आत्मा and some word connected with मान This is a mere guess

(b) प्रत्यक्षा पाली आपणी (*Harī Līlā*, Kālā VIII, st 59) presents प्रत्यक्षा with a strong य although originally a weak one, having been evolved from the इ of ति partly because of an erroneous Sanskrit feeling and partly in consequence of the peculiar position of त्य in the word coming as it does between प्र on the one side and क्षा on the other which renders the अ of त्य strong, and this strength reacts on the sound of the य itself perforce

(c) The following instances may also be noted —

- (1) नवधा खरी पण प्रेमभक्तितथुं बळ छे अत्य,
ते विना रसिक चूडामणि हरि वश न पाये सत्य,

(Dayaram, *Rasika Vallabha*, LVIII, 5).

अत्य, rhyming here with सत्य, contains a strong conjunct, al though ordinarily it should be weak

- (2) जे अजा मध्य उपाध्य रोहली ते जाणे अहृत्य,
उयम सुहृत्मां (हिं) अनत दीसे रूपनी समृत्य.

(Dayaram).

Here समृत्य, derived from संमृति would ordinarily have त्य as a weak conjunct but the the rhyme with हृत्य and metrical value would show it is intended to be strong.

मत्य (from मति) and such words are similarly handled by our old poets, as strong or weak according to metrical necessity

UISALGA 111

Lengthen u g of a short vowel final or non final, without any co u nct simpli fication

The lengthening of a short vowel without any influence like that of the simplification of a conjunct

(a) The non-final, accented, short vowel in some words gets lengthened even when not followed by a conjunct which is simplified,

(b) The final short vowel of *tadbhava* words is generally lengthened.

Examples:—

(a) Non-final vowel.

Skr.	Pr. or Ap. or Dīkṣya	Guj.
स्तनः	थनु	थान
धनिः	(धुनि)	धुन ¹⁷⁷
स्वरः	(धर)	सूर ¹⁷⁷
कुंडलं	कुंडलं	कुंडाडु
जडं	जडं	जाडुं
कटकं	कटकं	काहं ¹⁷⁸
तिटकं	तिटकं	टीहं
रानिः	रानी	घाण्य ¹⁷⁹
वरं	वरं	वारुं ¹⁸⁰
अयोधपल्लवः	असोभपल्लवु	आसोपाडव

(b) Final vowel.

रामस्य पासं (०-रंवे)	रामनि पासइ	रामनी पासै
अमृतं	अमिअं (अमि)	अमी
न	न	ना

177. The व in धनि and स्वर first undergoes *samprasādhana*. As I shall show in a subsequent *utarga*, *samprasādhana* is rendered possible when the य् or व् is intervocalic, and this condition is supplied in the case of धनि and स्वर by the intervention of a minute स्वरमलि before the semi-vowel, thus धुं वनि-सुं वर. The long ऊ in धुन, -सूर will then be the result of वङ-उङ. This being a closer analysis of the phonetic process the two words can be excluded from this *utarga*, to be quite accurate.

178. Some derive वारु from वरु (व). But वरु does not possess the exact sense of वल and वारु (अमृतमयुरे). Agreeable, auspicious (as a discourse) is what Āptō gives in his Dictionary, against वरु, and that too as a distant meaning.

179. Āptō gives रानि also, in which case this word may be removed from this list.

180. Some derive वरु from वरु. But a comparison with M. वरे will favour the derivation from वरु.

[Notes.—(1) °नी in रामनी पासे is given as a type of a large class of forms. (I owe the tracing of this principle in this type of forms to Mr. K. H. Dhruva's *Vāgvyāpāra* P. 5.). Similarly अमिअं is given as a type of the class wherein the second members of a final स्वरसुम्भ gets dropped under the *utsarga* to be given next after the present one.

(2) Some may include अधीन in this *utsarga*. But I exclude it because—

(First), it is not an independent word; only from अधीन as the form which अधि takes as a second member of a compound; and

(Secondly), it is the result of a mis-conception due to the अ obtained by *sandha* in words like वचनाधीन &ca..

(3) M. सासरा from अशुर may be regarded as the result of the principle underlying this *utsarga*.]



The source of this change traceable in Hémachandra's grammar.

The source of the principle of this *utsarga* is found in *Si. Hē. VIII-i-44* (अतःसमृद्ध्यादौ) whereby the अ in the first syllable of words in the *gaṇa* headed by the word समृद्धि is optionally lengthened. This *gaṇa* is stated to be an आहृतिगण, and so स्तन, जह and such words may be referred to it. But it would not be proper to take advantage of this loop-hole unless actual forms like घाण, जाह &ca. are found in use in *Prākṛit* works. For this reason and also because there are cases of ह्र in this list, and more particularly because all the cases are governed by a special efficient principle to be stated just now, I take this as a new *utsarga*, although it may be allowed to be regarded as an अनुपूर्ति of *Si-Hē. VIII i 44*.

The underlying causative principle of this change.

The apparent and proximate cause of this lengthening is the change from मध्य to विलम्बित utterance of the vowel concerned. We cannot, however, rest satisfied with such an incomplete explanation; it is almost like a verbal proposition; just like Mr. Kēśavalal H. Dhruva's naming this process as विलम्बनविधान; (see

his *Vāgyādhara*, P. 6, para 2) which is but a case of thinly veiled tautology. It takes us no farther behind the phonetic phenomenon itself,—certainly not to the principle working as its cause. There are two alternative theories I would suggest as furnishing this creative principle:

(1) *Doubling of the following consonant and simplification of such conjunct.*

I. The doubling of the consonant following the vowel concerned under the principle governing *Si. III. VIII-ii-98, 99* (सैद्यादि and सैद्यादि words being affected thereby) especially as the list concludes with the word इत्यादि.

Yet in the absence of actual usage in *Prākṛit*, one should hesitate to extend the operation of these *sūtras* to our words. But if such doubling is accepted, then the next step would be the simplification of the conjunct no sooner it came into being and the lengthened vowel would then be explained by the principle of balancing of quantity. This theory would secure *स्वापर* in as much as there would be no need for this separate *utsarga* as the cases would be covered by the *utsarga* about संयोगलोप and पूर्वस्वरदीर्घत्व. There would then be no need for supposing a tautologous *विलम्बनविधान* either.

(2) *The vowel concerned affected by accent; this theory preferred.*

II. However, ईडाई could not fairly be traced through a supposition ईहल्लङ्, as this formation is obviously improbable. I think it would be better to see in this *विलम्बन* utterance

the working of the principle of accent; and this will furnish an alternative principle. And if we examine all the cases in the list (a), we shall find that it is the vowel concerned that bears an accent; this being so, as a natural consequence the vowel is lengthened. I have on set purpose put the word 'accented' in the enunciation of this para (a) of the *utsarga*.

The cause in the case of final vowel lengthening; relief of breath.

As regards the list under (b), words whose final vowels are lengthened, the cause is obvious; It is not convenient for the human breath to stop dead at the end of a word; in

Sanskṛit the highly developed phonetic faculty and training of the

people could conquer this natural tendency, and so we find मधु वारि, and the like with short final vowels. But with the advent of the Prakṛits and still further the *post*-Apabhramśa evolutions, the restraining power of this force of discipline gave way to the overflow of natural liberty and we find the final short vowels lengthened, a sort of relief being secured thereby to the vocal organs

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UTSARGA XX

The dropping of the second member of a final स्वरयुग्म and consequent lengthening of the first member.

स्वरयुग्म *dropping of its second member and lengthening of its first member* When, in a *Prākṛit*, *Apabhramśa*, or *transitional form*, there is a स्वरयुग्म (vocalic group) at the end of a word, the second member thereof (whether short or long) is dropped and the first member, if short, is lengthened.

Examples.

| Skr.                 | Pr. or Ap or transitional      | Guj           |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| घृतं                 | घिअं-घिउ                       | घी            |
| अमृतं                | अमिअं-अमिउ                     | अमी           |
| मौक्तिक              | मोत्तिअ-मोत्तिउ                | मोती          |
| ढोदितं               | ढोदिअं-ढोदिउ                   | ढोही          |
| मधितं <sup>181</sup> | महिअं-महिउ                     | मही (= curds) |
| पानीय                | पाणिअं-पाणिउ                   | पाणी          |
| यज्ञोपवीतं           | जण्णोवईअ<br>जण्णोवईअं-जण्णोवईउ | जनोई          |

181 मही is generally understood to be the same as दहि in Gujarātī. But मधु=to churn would indicate that churned curds must be the sense, and so Amara tells us —

तक्रपुदधित्मयिन पादाम्भर्षम्बुनिर्जलम् ॥ II ix 53

Curds churned and mixed with  $\frac{1}{2}$  part of water is तक्र, with  $\frac{1}{2}$  part of water is उदधि, and without water is मधि which is known in Gujarātī as मढो.

|                                   |                     |                               |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| <sup>182</sup> सांयत्सरिकं (भादं) | संयच्छरिभं-संयच्छरि | समचरी                         |
| <sup>183</sup> वार्षिकं (धादं ?)  | वारसिभं-वारसि       | वरशी                          |
| <sup>183</sup> भारितं or भारिकं   | भारिभं-भारि         | <sup>183</sup> भारी (= heavy) |
| इन्द्रियं                         | इन्द्रिभं-इन्द्रि   | इंद्री                        |
| आरात्रिकं                         | आरसि                | आरती (fem.;                   |

original gender changed;  
as in the case of अर्मी, used  
by some in the feminine  
gender.)

|        |                                                                          |       |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| अलौकिक | अलौकि                                                                    | अलौकी |
|        | ("एतो रीत इमो आज अलौकी छी जो"<br>Dayāram; <i>Dānarchāturi</i> , st. 18). |       |

|         |               |       |
|---------|---------------|-------|
| अतुलितं | अतुलिभं अतुलि | अतुली |
|---------|---------------|-------|

(in अतुलीचञ-Old

Guj. literature "सायवंत शिरोमणि हे अतुलीचञ ने अभेद" --

*Sitarati-nor-Rāsa*, II-x-1)

|                       |                                         |                |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------|
| मरिचं                 | मरिभं-मरि                               | मरी (= pepper) |
| गान्धियः              | गंधिभो-गंधि                             | गंधी           |
| <sup>184</sup> तेलिकः | तेलिभो-तेलि                             | तेली           |
| घनिः                  | घनिभो-घनि                               | घणी            |
| दुधिकः                | दुधिभो-दुधि                             | दुधी           |
| दृष्टा                | दृष्टि (Ap.), दृष्टि (O. W. R.), दृष्टी |                |

(This represents, as a type, the class of forms in स्था termination).

182. The word भाद disappears just as गृह disappears in giving सासु from अद्भुतं गृहम् (See *supra*, P. 229, n. 84, for this sense of सासु in Hemschandra's time.)

183 भारि+इत् (termination) Hemschandra uses भारिक; see his gloss on *Deśi-śāstra-sūtra*, II, P. Persian has *har-olash*, and भारी=heavy. The word भारी is more commonly used in G. than भारी. भारे, like वधे, derives an adjectival sense through the instrumental form of भर (वधारे being वधारे) which idiom turns it by a twist of thought into an अविकारी विशेषः.

184. मोषी (= a shoe-maker) must be from some Uṣṭya word like a conjunctural मोषिषो; for Kharoshti has मोश= a shoe, Sindhi has मोषा= shoes, Guj. मोषी may be compared, also मोशु= a stocking.

|                                                |                             |                                             |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| वृकः                                           | *वरुओ-वरउ                   | वरु                                         |
| ( *—because Hemachandra has no rule for this ) |                             |                                             |
| (Deśya) रुअं                                   | रउ                          | रु (=cotton)                                |
| ( „ ) वरुअं                                    | वरउ                         | वरु (=a reed)                               |
| ( „ ) कोलहुओ                                   | कोलहुउ                      | कोलहु (a sugar-cane-pressing machine)       |
| कामरूपः                                        | कामरुवो } कामरउ<br>कामरुओ } | कामरु (दिश)                                 |
| वपदिंका                                        | ववडिआ                       | काढी                                        |
| वालिका                                         | वालिआ                       | वाळी                                        |
| पुस्तिका                                       | पोत्पिआ                     | पोधी                                        |
| विजुल्लता                                      | विजुल्लिआ-विजुलिआ           | वीजळी                                       |
| वलिआ                                           | वलिआ                        | वळी                                         |
| मक्षिका                                        | मक्खिआ                      | माखी                                        |
| मृत्तिका                                       | मट्टिआ                      | मारी                                        |
| शलाका                                          | सलाआ } सलिआ<br>सलआ }        | शळी                                         |
|                                                | (Deśya) अलिआ                | अली (a term of address to a female friend). |
|                                                | ( „ ) ओसरिआ                 | अशिरी<br>(=a verandah)                      |
| पादः                                           | पार्आ-पाउ                   | पा                                          |
| सपाद                                           | सपारओ-सपाउ                  | सवा                                         |
| घात.                                           | घाओ-घाउ                     | घा                                          |
| प्रतिघात                                       | पडिघाओ-पडिघाउ               | पडघा                                        |
| वात*                                           | वाओ-वाउ                     | वा                                          |
| धान्याक                                        | धनारअं-धनारउ                | धाना <sup>185</sup>                         |

185 The final form, धान, having the appearance of the plural number of a masculine noun ending in ओ, this word is mistaken for such and by a reverse process, धाओ is constructed as an original word in the singular number

|            |                  |                    |
|------------|------------------|--------------------|
| कलापः      | कलायो-कलाडु-कलाड | कळा <sup>186</sup> |
| पूरा       | पूआ              | पू                 |
| गोषा       | गोहा पोआ         | पो                 |
| जलीकाः     | जलीआ             | जळो (=leech)       |
| मुहूर्त्ता | मलोई             | मळो                |
| माता       | माई              | मा                 |
| अनुयोगः    | अणुजोओ           | अणूजो              |
|            | अणुजोउ           |                    |

(=a non-working day,  
used in reference to  
masons, carpenters &c.)

## Notes:—

(a) By tracing the final form to the Apabhramsa formation in उ, in the case of words ending in अं, we always secure a pure स्वरयुग्म (i. e. इउ, instead of इअं).

(b) The first member in the स्वरयुग्म must be any vowel but अ; a glance at the instances will show this. A स्वरयुग्म with अ as its first vowel will give different results; e. g.

|        |      |      |
|--------|------|------|
| समयः   | समउ  | समो  |
| घोटकः  | घोटउ | घोटो |
| भयः    | भउ   | भा   |
| मृतकः  | मदउ  | महुं |
| हरीतकी | हरउई | हरटे |
| करोति  | करइ  | करे  |
| करोतु  | करउ  | करो  |

Only in Hindi and Marāṭhi the अउ group drops the उ and lengthens the अ. e. g. घोदउ (Ap.), घोरा (M. and H.). This feature has been explained already before (See *supra*, pp. 215, 216). The

186. The विस्तारण of a peacock is meant here, by a sort of हस्त, and that too to express the feathers as spread out by the peacock. कया is mistaken as a feminine noun ending in आ as कया G. is used in the feminine gender.

accent on the અ leads to the dropping of the ઉ in H. and M. and to the *prati-samprasāraṇa* of ઉ in G., which further leads to the અર્ધવિવૃત્ત ઓ.

(c) The steps through which words ending in હા and આઓ pass in the list above are these:—

હા—હઅ—હૃ  
આઓ—આઠ—આ

In the case of આઠ, Hindi and Marāṭhī have *prati-samprasāraṇa* of ઠ e. g. પાઠ—પાવ; ઘાઠ—ઘાવ.

(d) The lengthening of the residual first member of the સ્વરયુગ્મ is due to the operation of the causative principle affecting the last preceding *utsarga* XIX-(b) assisted by the additional factor of the principle of balance of quantity by way of compensation for the loss of the second member.

There is another possible explanation, but I mention it only to reject it as it is a little far-fetched and not in harmony with the set of phonetic principles hitherto established, such as balancing of quantity, influence of accent and the like. It is this: હઅ, ઠઅ become હૃ, ઘૃ by *sandhi* or insertion of ય, ષ as *digama*, and the ય, ષ undergo *samprasāraṇa*, thus giving હૃ+હ, ઘૃ+ઘ leading to હૃ, ઘ.

(e) ચી and ચીયું, પા and પાયો (the sense being altered in this latter case, પા=one quarter and પાયો=1. a leg; 2. a foundation)—may at first sight seem to present an alternative operation of the *utsarga*; but really it is not so. ચી is from ચીજં-ચીઠ; while ચીયું is from ચીજંજં-ચીજંઠ-ચીઅઠં. Similarly પા is from પાઠ; પાઠ, while પાયો is from પાઠઠ; પાયઠ.

But there are some real exceptions of a partial nature, like ગહ and ઘઠં; ગહ from ગહઆ, ગહિઆ, ગૃધિકા, not lengthening the હ although the second member આ is dropped; and પઠં from પઠંઠ, ગઠં, ગોઠં, ગોઠંઠ, ગોઠંઠ, ગોઠંઠ, shortening the first member (ઠ). The reason seems to be the accent on ગ and પ, which prevents the lengthening of the હ and causes the shortening of the ઠ to ઠં.

M. लोणी is an instance of the operation of the present *utsarga*: नवनीतं, ११ लोणीभं, लोणी.

### UTSARGA XXI

य् and व् *dgamas*  
in certain circum-  
stances.

There is an *utsarga* allied by way of opposition to the last preceding *utsarga*. It is this:—

(a) Where the second member of a final स्वरयुग्म is not dropped a य् comes in as an *dgama* after ह्, and व् after र्.

There is an independent *utsarga* about such an *dgama* which may be conveniently placed here:

(b) An unaccountable *dgama* व् comes in to strengthen the vowel or semi-vowel in certain words.

Examples:—

(a)

| Skr.        | Pr. or Ap.<br>(Dīśya) | गिरिभं गिरियुं | Goj.<br>गर्भुं |
|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| लघुवर्कः    | लघुभउ                 | लघुवउ          | लाहवो          |
| बहुवर्कः    | बहुभउ                 | बहुवउ          | बहुरो          |
| वाणिक् (+क) | वाणिभउ                | वाणिवउ         | वाणियो         |
| लघुवर्कः    | हलभउं                 | हलवउं          | हल्लुं         |
| गुणवर्कः    | गरुभउं                | गरुवउं         | गरुल्लुं       |
| कटुवर्कः    | कटुभउं                | कटुवउं         | कटुल्लुं       |

(b)

|            |            |               |            |
|------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| परसेवर्कः  | परसेभउ     | परसेवउ        | परसेवो     |
| लाभकः      | लाहउ       | ल्लाभउ ल्लावउ | ल्लाभो     |
| प्रोचकः    | प्रोपउं    |               | परोऽयुं    |
| निष्पोषितक | निष्पोऽभउं |               | निष्पोऽयुं |

[एत नीचोयु तिहां तत वाडि *Dhātara's Kādambari, Pūrā-kāḍga; Kaṭavaru XV, l. 209*].

नीचोयु is here a stage before the advent of the *dgama*, व्.

157. नवनीतं;—extending to this the principle underlying Sl. II. VIII-4-170, we secure नोनीतं; the change of न् to ञ् is prevalent in the post-Apabhramsa stage; and so लोनीतं.

|            |            |           |         |
|------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| आयातरः     | आयाअउ      | आयो       | आव्यो   |
| विग्रहितकं | विग्रहिअउं | विग्रहअउं | धगोन्यं |

[Āptê gives only विग्रह=*censured; reproached*; from which विग्रह=*to censure; to reproach*, may be constructively accepted.

(1) “मृष्टि सर्ग वगोई” (*Prémānanda, Nalākhyaṇa, Br. Kāṇḍa Dohāna, P. 196*).

(2) वळी विगोई विनिध परे रति छंदरी थइ तेह

(*Silaratī-no-Rāsa, VI-xvi-duho 3.*)

वगोई here shows the stage without the व् *agama*.]

|           |           |          |         |
|-----------|-----------|----------|---------|
| विलोडितकं | विलोडिअउं | विलोहअउं | वलोण्यं |
|-----------|-----------|----------|---------|

(=churned).

[This is a conjectural derivation, in so far as the elision of ण is not of common occurrence. But there are fairly good grounds for bringing this case under an exception; विलोडणे (Sindhi) means “to churn”; Āptê in his Skr.-Eng. Dictionary gives विलोडनं with the meanings—*agitating stirring, churning*; and for विलोडितं the sense—*butter-milk*.]

In these instances, i. e. of इय, उव the process may with equal correctness be called that of the ordinary *sandhi* change of इ to इय् and उ to उव. ‘As however, Si. Hē. VIII-i-8, स्वस्स्योद्वृत्ते and VIII-i-6 नयवर्णन्यान्वे bar such *sandhi* operation, the introduction of this *āgama* is fictioned here. Otherwise, it is open to us to say that these prohibitive *sūtras* of Hēmachandra are inoperative in post-Apabhramśa changes of this kind. Yet, I think, the *āgama* theory is more true to nature.

## UTSARGA XXII

### संप्रसारण Samprasāraṇa.

*Samprasāraṇa*; its conditions. This phonetic process is as old as Sanskrit, but its operation in post-Apabhramśa formations, and the principles governing it, are what we are concerned with here. The following enunciation of this *utsarga* will explain the position:—

Intervocalic *ṛ* and *ṝ* take their *samprasāraṇa*, when there is an accent on the vowel of the syllable of which the *ṛ* and *ṝ* form a part.

## Examples.

| Skr.      | Pr. or Ap.                            | Guj.                                        |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| ṛ to ॠ—   |                                       |                                             |
| दृश्यते   | { दिश्यते <sup>188</sup><br>दृश्यते } | दरये                                        |
| यतः       | direct                                | सयते                                        |
| विद्वलते  | { विद्वलते<br>दिद्वलते<br>विद्वलते }  | सरहे (सेहे)                                 |
| वायुः     | वायु                                  | वाइ <sup>189</sup>                          |
| पादभजः    | पापभज                                 | पाइभज                                       |
|           |                                       | (= a leg of a cot, chair,<br>and the like.) |
| व्यक्तिः  | direct विपगति                         | <sup>190</sup> वीगत <sup>191</sup>          |
| धुपः      | direct                                | पोरी <sup>191</sup>                         |
| व्यनदारः  | विनदारु                               | वईपार                                       |
| दीपवर्तिः | दीपवर्ती                              | दीवेद (= a wick)                            |

188. If दिद्वलते, and then, by metathesis of इ and अ, दृद्वलते can be accepted as the stops, this instance must be excluded from this *uttarga*. It is difficult to choose between the two alternatives.

For अ remaining in hiatus see *supra* p. 152 last para.

189. वाइ drops the इ under the operation of *uttarga* XX treated just above. दृद्वलते is a typical *ṛ* (in present day Gujarati). दृद्वलते is found for वायुवाय in a *Khadyaya* by Manāṇa (date of copy, V. S. 1574, Khānā, 70, St. 1074, running number.)

190. वक्ति is found in a record of V. S. 1662—"વક્તિ ૧૬૬૨ વર્તે જેટ વર્તે ૧૧ નિપટે જેટી વાઘીના વાઘા ૮ ટા ૨૨૩૬ મુજબતે લેઈને વક્તિ, કોરી ૨ સોમવારની ૧ વાગી ૧." (Introduction to *Farāḥ-purāṇā*, P. 39). વક્તિ = *marifestation*; detailed expression. Hence, વીગત detail.

191. See next page.



व् to उ—

|                            |          |                              |
|----------------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| ध्वनि                      | (direct) | धून <sup>191</sup>           |
| स्वर                       | "        | सुर <sup>191</sup>           |
| दि                         | "        | दूर <sup>191</sup>           |
|                            |          | ( in दुभाषियो, दुपट्टो &cs ) |
| सुवर्णक }<br>191 स्वर्णक } | सुवण्णउ  | सुण्णउ      सुव              |

191 धून=*an obsession, a possession of the mind*, for, ध्वनि=*a sound the continuous resonance, as that of a bell after ringing*, of the sense of ध्वनि in *Alankāra Śāstra*, viz व्यङ्ग्य which is based on this simile. Thus a thing, an idea which keeps continuously ringing in the head, as it were.

The व् and यू in ध्वनि, स्वर, दि, व्यक्ति, धुर्ध्व are apparently not intervocalic. But an intervocalic situation is first obtained by the intervention of something like a minute स्वरभक्ति, thus—

स्वरभक्ति, part ध्वनि, सुवर, दुवि, दूर्यक्ति, धुर्ध्व. This स्वरभक्ति may be taken as of ½th mādā.

It partakes of the nature of विप्रकर्ष as well as that of स्वरभक्ति, for the interpolated vowel in स्वरभक्ति is अ or ए, whereas in विप्रकर्ष it is the same vowel as that of the conjunct syllable broken up (तत्स्वरता of Pr. Prak. III 59), or अ, इ or उ according to Hēmachandra (VIII li 100 to 115). In our instances the interpolated vowel is उ or इ and so far it resembles विप्रकर्ष, while the measure of the interpolated vowel is ½th mādā and herein it resembles स्वरभक्ति. I prefer to call this a case of स्वरभक्ति because of this small length of the interpolated vowel, though we have a model in Pr. दुवरइ (Skr. खरति). In fact all cases of विप्रकर्ष are but a further development of the Vedic स्वरभक्ति. In the case of transition of words into the vernaculars, the Vedic स्वरभक्ति is imported only as a natural principle and hence the variation in the conditions from Vedic times to the modern vernacular period.

दुइ is found in Hindi. दो in ordinary Hindi is either from dropping the इ, yielding दु, or allied to Persian दू-दो. Gujarātī has दु only as a पूर्वपद of *samāsas* like दुपट्टो &c, probably borrowed from Hindi.

स्वर्ण may be regarded as undergoing स्वरभक्ति in turning into सुवर्ण. पोरी=1 a big bullock, 2 principal, e.g. पोरी मार्ग, a high road.

For detailed genesis of *samprasāraṇa* See Note B to Lecture IV, section I, *supra*, pp. 279-80.

| सर्वः       | सम्भु                                      | सत्         | सत्                            | सौ; | सद्                 |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| सत्तावर्णकं | सत्तावर्णकं                                | सत्तावर्णकं | { सत्तावर्णकं<br>सत्तावर्णकं } |     | सद्भु               |
| प्रतिगोशी } | { प-पादिवेसी <sup>192</sup><br>प-पाद्वसी } |             | { पद्वसी<br>पाद्वसी }          |     | { पदोगी<br>पादोगी } |
| प्रतिगोशी } |                                            |             | { वसवटी<br>वसवटी }             |     | वसोटी               |
| कपपट्टिका   | कसपट्टिका                                  |             | { कंकवत्तरी<br>कंकवत्तरी }     |     | कंकवत्तरी           |
| कुंभपत्रिका | कंकवत्तरी                                  |             | { कालवत्तरी<br>कालवत्तरी }     |     | कालवत्तरी           |
| काटपत्रिका  |                                            |             | { काळवत्तरी<br>काळवत्तरी }     |     | काळवत्तरी           |

## NOTES:—

(a) Dr. Tessitori ("Notes", § 52) gives, amongst instances of *samprasāraṇa*,

अभितर < अभ्यन्तर  
भरि < भय्य  
विहारी < भ्यहारी  
सुपन < स्वप्न

But these are all cases of *स्वरभक्ति* first and *samprasāraṇa* afterwards. He does not mention the condition about ए and व् being intervocalic, and the idea of *स्वरभक्ति* must have escaped his notice.

If द्वि, द्वादि, दुवि, दुर (by elision of व्) are accepted as the steps (instead of द्वादि, द्वादि-दुर) this instance must be excluded from *samprasāraṇa*. The case of द्वार-दुवार (through द्वार), as cited by Mārkaṇḍeya (*Pratīkṣa-sarvasva*, III, 96) would seem to lend support to this view, there being no chance of *samprasāraṇa* in द्वार.

192. The मति here becomes पति or पति optionally under the principle governing Sr. II. VIII-5-44 अत्र समुदासी वा॥ where समुदासी is stated to be an आकृष्टि, and three instances with मति are given (मतिरु, मतिरुदि and मतिरुवि). मतिरुवि is also a possible origin for पादोगी; but not very probable.

(b) As stated at the outset, *samprasāraṇa* is a process as old as Sanskrit. इयं यः संप्रसारणम्, Pāṇini I-i-45, gives the definition, and the cases where the change occurs are scattered over the language in various places.

*Comparison of samprasāraṇa in Sanskrit formations and that in post-Apabhraṃśa formations*

The conditions governing *samprasāraṇa* in Sanskrit are somewhat different, e. g. वच्-reduplicated perfect 3rd person singular is उवाच, wherein the व of उवाच gets *samprasāraṇa*; it is purely initial and not intervocalic. (The reason probably is the close neighbourhood of the two वकाराः). उचुः (dual), उचुः (plural) present a different set of circumstances. उचुतुः, उवचुः—here the व has an अ instead of an आ in it, and the strong preserving power of the long आ is lost, and also the व् is intervocalic.

विध्यति-विद् from व्यच् can be distinguished from व्यथते-व्यथिन thus:—In the former the ध्य and द् are conjuncts and render the pronunciation of व्य rather difficult and hence a स्वरभक्ति splits the व्य into व्ह्य and the intervocalic य् gets *samprasāraṇa*. In the latter, the simple थ presents no initial difficulty.

In विद्गस्-विद्गः-विद्गपा &c. अनद्वाह्-अनद्गहः-अनद्गदा and the like, स्वरभक्ति ( विद्गवस्, अनद्वाह् &c. ) is a precedent latent step evidently.

However, it is not possible to go into an analysis of all cases of *samprasāraṇa* in Sanskrit formations which stand by themselves apart. I only indicate the line of inquiry where an explanation is possible. But I have an idea that an essential common principle is bound to be discovered running through all cases, Sanskrit, Prākṛit as well as post-Apabhraṃśa transitional.

I conclude the second section of Lecture IV here, and shall treat in the third and the last section the remaining utargas of comparatively minor importance.

## APPENDIX A.

(Lecture IV, Section II, page 285; note 3.)

म्होदं—*Its derivation.*

I derive म्होदं as under:—

महत् (क)—Skr.—महन्तउं (Pr.); this is the form shown under the गोणादि निपाताः in *Si. III. VIII-ii-174*. Then the following intermediate steps:—

महन्तउं—by loss of the nasal, as per class (O) *utsarga II*, Lecture IV, Section II.

महदुं—the dental being changed to the corresponding cerebral under the principle underlying *Si. III. VIII-ii-29, 30*.

महुदुं—under स्वराणां स्वराः प्रायोऽपभ्रंशे, *Si. III. VIII-ii-329*.

म्हउदुं—the ह being shunted towards the initial syllable, as I have shown in Appendix B. *infra*. See Class (B) *Utsarga I*, (क)-(a) (Lecture IV, Section II.)

Then अउ is changed to ओ (narrow; because the उ is strong on account of the subsequent conjunct; see my discussion of वितृत अ-आ in Lecture IV, Section I); which gives म्होदुं; and, then, the conjunct being simplified, we have—म्होदं.

It will be seen in the above derivation that each step is supported by some verified law or other.

Mr. Kefaralāl H. Dhruva, in his essay, *Vāgyāpāra, Anupīti II*), traces मोदं (he is for the aspirate-less form 'and so मोदं) as under:—

महदुं (he apparently ignores the form, महन्तउं), then he theorises thus:

The ह्कार in this word being akin in its aspiration to the *visarga*, it is used up in a *sandhi* process similar to the one which the *visarga* undergoes, viz: the change to उ and, with the preceding अ, combination into ओ, thus मोअट्टं, then मोट्टं—मोट्टं.

To my mind there are several defects in this theorizing: thus—

- (a) We do not know of any other cases wherein such *visarga*-like mutations are gone through *internally* in the body of a word; the guess is really strange and unwarranted.<sup>2</sup>
- (b) मउअट्टं has the उ unaccented and the natural result would be a वितृत आ and not a narrow ओ; for, whatever the tendency in Sanskrit may be, in the post-Prākṛit evolution अउ invariably tended to result (through अउ)

2. Under Pāṇini VIII-11-66 a final स् (and the final of सञुप्) become र्; this र् undergoes one of two changes —

- (a) *visarga*, when followed by the letters symbolized as स्वर, or at the end of a word, e. g. रामस्=राम+र्=रामः, रामः कथयति, पठति etc. (स्वरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः VIII-11-15).

or (b) ढ when it is between two अन्तुत अः (अतोरोऽन्तुतदन्तुते VI-1-113), and when followed by हन् (हश्चि च VI-1-114), रामोऽस्ति; रामो गच्छति; तपोवन, etc..

None of these conditions are present in the case of मह्. Mr. K. H. Dhruva says ह् is changed to a *visarga*; but a *visarga* cannot exist *internally* in a word, the स्वर and the subsequent उ happen (not to ह्, but to स् and the final of सञुप्) at the *end* of a word, or before the initial हन् group of letters. This shows that even if Mr. K. H. Dhruva bases his theory on a mere analogy, the change in question cannot occur *internally* in the body of a word. Considering the phonetic principle embodied in the process, I can see no justification for such an analogy. Even granting that Pāṇini prescribes the *visarga* changes and subsequent उत to the स् and not to ह् only for the sake of his peculiar *sutra*-scheme and that the real phonetic process involves the change of the aspiration inherent in a *visarga* to उ, the difficulty about the internal change remains unaffected मह् is not capable of any *internal splitting up* into मह्+अट्ट.

into the wide अ sound when the ऌ was unaccented, if it did not remain split up as अउ.<sup>3</sup>

- (c) A comparison with Marāṭhī मोठें will show that, at least there, the हू is visible in union with the ऌ into ठ, and has not spent itself in the imaginary *visarga*-process and the change of the *visarga* into उ. The ओ (in मोठें),—be it noted as eloquent against Mr. K. H. Dhruva's theory,—is secured without such a process, keeping the ह alive still: महुट्ठं-मउट्ठं-मोठें.

It may be incidentally stated here that while मोट्ट (without the aspirate) is seen in several manuscripts of old works in Gujarātī, the form with the aspirate (मोट्टो and the like) is, in some form or other, also in evidence equally; e. g.

- (1) एक मोहट्ट सरोवर छे

(*Gadya-Bhāgarata*; date unknown, but believed to be much earlier than the *Vachandamrita* of Sahajānanda Svāmī).

2. मोहटा राव सोढणा (Do. Do.)<sup>4</sup>

3. राज जनमेनि विहिठि जैसुन्यने तुं माहा मोहोटो छन्य

(*Chandrabhāsa-Ālhyāna*, by Vishṇudāsa, year of copy, V. S. 1732).

1. आपणने दुप मोहोट्टं पर

(*Daftra Standard*; by Kēśava Hridērām, composed in V. S. 1529, copy written in Kachcha in V. S. 1787; Sarga XV. St. 30.)

<sup>3</sup> It may be contended in reply that मउमउट्टं may have turned into मउट्टं, and then the ठ being strong the ओ would be narrow. However, the initial flaw regarding the impossibility of ह undergoing a *visarga*-like process upsets the whole theory. And it is no use imagining such transformations, as मउमउट्टं to मउट्टं,—not unlikely in themselves, but out of place under these conditions.

<sup>4</sup> These two instances (1 and 2) are taken from a paper read by Mr. Chhapanlāl V. Pāvālā, a retired school master, before the 4th Gujarātī Sahitya Parishad, on "*Gujarātī Bīdāśās Ketāśāl tatvā ki jayā*" (1st Report, pp. 99, 101)

## 5. હઈ હેમની કાંકરી માત મ્હોટી

(Ibid, Sarga, XIV, St. 15)

and in several other places<sup>6</sup> in the same work. No. 5 is noteworthy, for it has મ્હ as a conjunct, which is exceptional.

(This work, *Dafama Slandha*; by Keśava Hridêrām, was shown to me by Mr. Ambālāl B. Jānī; it belongs to the collection of Mas. in the possession of the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā, Bombay).

(6) Similarly a Ms. of Sāmala's *Sinhāsana Dairisī* (date of copy V. S. 1796) also contains the spelling મોહોટું pretty frequently.

(7) A Manuscript copy of Prēmānanda's *Vraja-vēli*, now in my possession, written in V. S. 1842, has

(૧) મોહોટાં મોકલ્યાં મંદિર જંવા અવાસ જી (St. 274).

(૨) મોહોટાં મન્યે કરીને આપ્યાં વઢુ દાન જી (St. 157).

(૩) સ્વ છે સામલં ગુણ છે મોહોટલા (St. 236).

These instances are picked up at random.

(8) માહા મોહોટો તાપસ જાંજે

(*Dhruva-Charitra*, V. S. 1637; I-20).

(also it has મોટું elsewhere.)

(9) તે દુપ મદિ પતું દુપ મોહોટું

*Yirdā-parva*, by Nākar, 1601 V. S; copied in 1785 V. S.; IV-20).

(It has also મોટા-મોટું elsewhere; also મોહોટા.)

(10) સાજ સહિત પધારજો દૂતે મોહોટોરો કરવા રે

*Olharharāṇa*, by Nākara, V. S. 1810 year of copy).

Over and above all this, the aspirated form has been prevalent in private correspondence and other documents and in text books till its artificial abolition by the Educational Department over

6. I give two more instances below—

કોહા મોહોટા વરિ મેઠ સવાન। (conclusion, St 122), હરિ જેનક મોહોટો મહિમા વ  
(conclusion, St 116).

forty years ago, when a Committee framed what is known as the Hope Series of Reading Books. But in spite of this, outside the range of the influence of the Department, *म्हो* is found in vogue.

Thus, against occasional omission of the *हकार* in some old Mss. (and the practice started by the arbitrary action of the Educational Department during the last four decades), we have a full chain of consistent acceptance of the *हकार* in *म्हो*, beginning from the source in Sanskrit, continued through the Prākṛit, Apabhramśa and post-Apabhramśa languages, and maintained in practice amongst the past generations, and supported by actual pronunciation even at present.

## APPENDIX B

### To Lecture IV, Section II

(See P. 292, n. 17)

Reasons why I hold that the *हकार* generally shifts towards the beginning of a word.

The late Mr. Navalrām Lakshmīrām discussed this question elaborately and ably in his examination of the system of spelling recognised by the Educational Department of the Bombay Presidency; (*Vide Gujarāt Sāla Patra*, A. D. 1872, March and subsequent issues, or *Navalagranthāvalī*, III, pp. 26-32.) He rightly discarded the spelling which avoided the *हकार*, e. g. *वेन* for *वेन*; and then considered the merits of different alternative modes of writing, viz.

(a) *वेन*, *वेन*;

(b) *वेन*;

and (c) *वेन*

After giving reasons for rejecting the rest, he approved of (c) *वेन* and, strangely enough, recommended the option of writing *वेन*, thus indicating the aspiration by a mere sign of apostrophé. I have fully discussed this question in my booklet on Gujarātī spelling, published as a supplement to the *EdMi-Prakṛṣa* in



A D 1888 I shall only confine myself here to giving briefly the reasons for holding that the **ह**कार generally moves towards the beginning of words I may premise here that the sound of this **ह**कार being weak (लघुप्रयत्न), its exact location remains involved in doubt, though a careful observer will have no hesitation in fixing the place of the aspiration Now, the reasons —

- (I) To begin with to a careful observer the aspirate sound is heard in the initial syllable,
- (II) Secondly the **विवृत** sound of **अ-अ** in words like **वर्द्ध**, **वर्द्धि** furnishes an indirect indication that the **ह** has moved towards the beginning, e g **भगिनी-वदिनी** **पृथुल-पहुल**. Here to leave the **अह-अउ** and subsequent evolutes **अ-अ** the **ह** shifting to the beginning (**वहणी-वउल**) creates a free road for the conditions of the wide sound, which would not be so well created by the **ह** shifting end ward or in any other way,
- (III) Words like **हमणा** (from **अधुना-अहुणा**) are even now written with the **ह** in the beginning This is a very significant fact,
- (IV) The change of **ग** to **घ** in words like **घेरु** (from **Skr गभीर Ap गहीर**), **घउ** (**Skr गोधूम Ap गोदुधु**), **पलो** (**Skr गृहीतक Ap गहिउ**), **घो** (**Skr गोषा, Pr गोहा**), **भेंस** (**Skr महिषी, Pr महिती**), **घयडो-घरडो** (**Skr जरड, Ap जरउ**, (later) **गरउ**), and the like possess the aspiration undoubtedly in the beginning
- (V) Lastly, the word **व्हाउ** furnishes, in its course from **अहणक** through the various evolutes, a clear indication of the upward movement of the **ह**कार, thus **अहणक** **एणउ** **नदउ**, here if the **ह** moves towards the beginning **ददउ**, then only the preservation of quantity would require the lengthening of the **अ** in the first syllable and give us **व्हाउ**, if the **ह** remained in the latter part of the word, the condition for lengthening the **अ** and thereby

preserving the quantity would not be created; unless it be held that the weakening of the ह gives rise to such a condition; नन्हडे (strong ह), नन्हडे (weak ह rendering the first syllable short, and therefore) नान्हडे. However, with the undeniable evidence of घेर, घो, घँडे etc. and हमणां etc., it is not easy to accept a divergence of evolutionary process in words like न्हडे so as to yield नान्हडे.



## LECTURE IV

## SECTION III

*The History of the Gujarātī Language—Its Evolution*

## (Concluded)

I now take up a series of *utsargas* of minor importance and shall note them quickly in this section, which I may call an omnibus section, as I shall not wait to classify them under A, B, C, as I did in the case of *utsargas* treated in the previous sections, or to enter into elaborate discussions in connection with them.

## UTSARGA I

## प्रथेप

## (Interpolation of a letter.)

In several words an adventitious letter is interpolated; such letters being ह, ए, य, र. Of these the interpolation of ह is treated in section II, *Utsarga* I (ह), and that of ए and य in section II *Utsarga* XXI (see pp. 281, 308-12, and 419 *supra*). The प्रथेप of र is foreshadowed in Apabhraṃśa, see Bl. Hō. VIII-iv-309 (अभृतोऽपि कयिन्).<sup>1</sup> But the instances in Apabhraṃśa are few, whereas in Gujarātī they are varied.

## Examples.

- (1) करदारी } (=sarcasm) G.—from कदाप (Skr.), कदम्प  
(कयदारी) }  
(Pr.)—करदारी-गी. (कदाप=a sidelong glance; looking askance; hence, in Gujarātī, by *lālshand*, sarcasm).
- (2) सांनेरे (G.); =सांने (loc.), +र thrown in.  
(The analogy of रांनेरे (रांनिये) may have something to do with the प्रथेप here).

1. A faint but significant foreshadowing may be traced as far back as the *Ṛik-Ṛitidākhyā* period. See that *Ṛitidākhyā*, IV-68, 69, which deal with an interpolated र after a न् in certain cases, e. g. पनीन् + ययोमि = पनीन् ययोमि; &c.. It is usual to view this र as a nasalized evolutive of न् itself rather than a प्रथेप; but I note it as a faint precursor of the अभृतोऽपि कयिन् of later ages, if it be permissible to take that as a

- (3) પડસુ (G) = side from પડકં (Skr.), પડસં (Ap), પ્રસડ, પ્રસડ, પરસુ, પડસુ  
 (4) કરોડ (G) = ten million, — from કોટિ (Skr.), કોડી (Pr), કોડી, કરોડ  
 (5) સરાળ (G) = a lathe, from શાળ (Skr.), સાળ (Pr), સાળ સરાળ  
 (6) વૂડુ (G) = to be pleased, from તુષ્ટ (Skr.), તુડ (Pr.), તુડ, વૂડ (હ)

“આજ મોતીદે મેહુલા વૂડ્યા,  
 વળ લોક તળા નાથ વૂડ્યા”

(*Dalapatrām*)

“માહિથી નીકળી પડિયો દાર,  
 સતીને વૂડ્યા ત્રિશાધાર.”

(*Premācanda Nalukhyina*)

“જાણે ભાદરવો મઢવી ઝડયો રે,  
 વાકી સાકીનું લ્યો દુ વૂડયો રે”

(*Navalaram, Bāla-Garab uali*)

- (7) મરણ (G) = to eat, (e g ત્હને મરણી મરણ), from મર (Skr.), મર (Pr), મર, મરણ (હ)  
 (8) નાગરવેલ (G) = beetle-leaf creeper, from નાગરવી (Skr.), નાગરવી (Pr) — નાગરવેલ  
 (9) આપ (G amongst uneducated classes) from શાપ (Skr) — direct-આપ  
 (10) ગણતરી (G), from ગણિતિ (Skr), — direct-ગણિતી, ગણતરી (This may be the source of the Gujarati termination તરી, તર, in મળતર, કચ્છતર, ચળતર etc.).  
 (11) કરાધી (G) = a piece forming the lower part of the sleeve of a woman's bodice, from વર (Skr) વરિયા, વરિયા (Pr), વરવિ, વરવિ, વરવિ (વર = arm-pit *See Abhidhāna-Chintāma* : III 23<sup>o</sup> વરિયા also = arm pit. See *Abhidhāna-Chintāma* : III 23<sup>o</sup> શેરૂંલ સળિયા વરિયા પાશં મ્યાદેતયોરપ II)

2 નાગરવેલ is called નાગરવેલ in Kanarese districts this, however, must be from નાગ (genitive plural) of નાગ in Kanarese the plural being out of respect for *Nāga* as a god

- (12) वयतर (G) — a pigeon, a dove, from वयोत (Skr), वयोत (Pr — but with त retained), वयतर. (For an alternative derivation and the affinity with Persian वयतर see *supra* P. 309, n. 33)

Note — The steps in these formations are,

- (1) addition of र and then
- (2) रिष्ठेय of the conjunct so formed.

The only exceptions are —

वृद्धु where there is no रिष्ठेय, and नागरखेल where there is no conjunction with र, but a र (र with अ) is interpolated separately.

These are instances of प्रयेय of र. There are rare instances where other consonants are interpolated, these are—

- (13) आसनागमना (G), from आभासना (Skr),
- (14) रिषरिष (G), from विरिष (Skr.)

[Notes—(a) In the case of the प्रयेय of र the reason may be sought in a desire to Sanskritize the word, as in भाप, by creating an elaborate conjunct. I have heard a man say दधणी for दधणी and am told of others saying गणप्रति for गणपति. I have seen वेरयी for वेरयी (Persian) and प्रभत्ताप for पभत्ताप in a respectable Gujarātī newspaper article. After this one need not regard as an exaggeration the story of an illiterate village Brahmana showing off his pretended learning by saying मेडी रीतिरिषी अरोटियु हायो for the pure, simple Gujarātī-मेडी रीतिरिषी अरोटियु हायो

(b) Tessitori, "Notes" § 31, deals with the प्रयेय of र, his instances (such as मरु, प्राहुण्ड), however, ignore the insertion of this र in Apahrasa itself (as observed in *Si. Hc.* VIII iv 339). Dr. Tessitori's observation that this र is added more commonly to म्, भ्, प्, न् and य् is suggestive]

In the case of (13) and (14) a mere tendency to joggle seems to give आसनागमना and रिषरिष

## UTSARGA II

The अ and आ endings of feminine words.

At page 222 *supra*, in the Note at the end of *Utsarga II*,—I promised to deal with this *utsarga* as belonging to class O. Instead of putting this *utsarga* in the preceding section I prefer to note it here, as it is one of minor importance.

*Enunciation*—In Gujarātī feminine words in अ are traceable either to Skr. words ending in आ or in इ or ई. Feminine words ending in आ are either तत्सम or derived ordinarily or by false analogy or from Persian.

*Examples.*

ज्वाला (Skr.), जाळा (Pr.), झाळ (Guj.); कला (Skr.), कल (Pr.), कळ (Guj.);

माता—direct—मात; वार्ता—वत्ता—वात; माळा—माळा—माळ;  
त्वचा—तजा—तज; जिन्हा—जिम्हा—जीम; लज्जा—लज्जा—लाज;  
बाढा—बाढा—बाळ; वृषा—(तरिसा through तर्पति—तरिसइ)—तरश;  
शुभ्रा—मुक्खा—भूख; लाक्षा—लाक्खा—लाख; कक्षा—कक्खा—काख;  
भिष्ठा—भिक्ता—भीख; सिष्ठा—सिक्खा—शीख; आज्ञा—आणा—आण.

कडली—केली—केळ; नारी—नारी—नार; वल्ली—वेल्ली—वेढ;  
कुक्षि—कुक्खी—कूख; भगिनी—बहिणी—बईन; अक्षि—अक्खी—आंख.

Words ending in आ—

माळा (ordinarily derived); बाळा (ordinarily derived);  
दया, धमा, कृपा etc. (तत्सम);  
धजा—from ध्वज; (feminine ध्वजा by false analogy).

*Persian.*

मन्ना; सजा; कन्ना; etc.

## UTSARGA III

उंकारान्त and उकारान्त nouns.

In Gujarātī, words in the neuter gender have the nasalized उं ending generally; but there are certain words, in that gender, without the nasal, i. e. with a pure उ ending.

Examples:—

आहुं, गाहुं, पोहुं, &ca. &ca. &ca.;—these end in a nasalized *वे*.

लीहुं, जाहुं, यहुं, पैहुं, रताहुं, आहुं, रियाहुं (=night time meal),—and such words end in an *उ* without nasalization.

The reason for this distinction is obvious: viz: while the nasalized *उं* occurs in consequence of the अहं (Skr.), अहं (Ap.) endings, the words with the pure *उ* ending have no such history. The consequence is that आहुं (for आराहुं) would be as incorrect an inflectional form as लीगुं (for लीगुं).

#### UTSARGA IV

Change of *य* to *ब*.

An uninitial *य* (dento-labial) is changed to *ब* (labial).

Examples:—

(1) द्वि-(मि, यह)-बे; (2) द्वितीयक-विद्वज्जो-पीमो; (3) द्वार-याहु-बार; (4) द्वारदक-वारह(वे)-वारयुं; (5) ज्वलति-(यलह)-बटे (ले); (6) उपविगति-उपहसह, वहसह-बेते; (7) अपत्यं-अपयं-बचुं; (8) यौन-जोयय, जोवन-जोवन; (9) कच्छपक-बच्छप-याचयो; (10) वपोन-करो (तो)-वपनर; (11) छवि-छवी-छवी; (12) भयव्याकुल-भयव्याकुल-देवाययो; (13) Deśya दायो-दायो, दामो; (14) Deśya दामो-गयो-रामो.

Notes:—

(a) The change of an initial *य* to *ब* is not known to Gujarātī; it is entirely a Hindi peculiarity. Words like बुद्धो (Skr. बृद्धः, Pr. बुद्धु); बहो (Skr. बृहत्, Pr. बृहु), as in ए यहो छच्छो ले, बिराजुं (Skr. विराज्); बोमो (Deśya योमो=a load); all have crept into Gujarātī through the Hindi formations.

The *य* in instances (1) to (7)—both inclusive—is initial only in the intermediate stages, but uninitial in the primary, Sanskrit, stage.

(b) Prākṛit grammar does not note the change of *य* to *ब*, no doubt. But it is not because it makes no distinction

between व and ब, as may at first sight appear from *St. Hē. VIII-ii-79* (सर्वत्र लयरामवन्दे) where शब्द as well as द्वि, द्वार, उद्दिग्ग are cited, and from the fact that *St. Hē. VIII-i-258* and *259* deal with व in शवर and व in स्वप्न and नीवी. For *St. Hē. VIII-i-237* notes the change of व to ब. It would do for a scientific treatise like grammar to take shelter under the laxity permitted for the purposes of *alankāras* like श्लेष and the like in रलयोदेलयोधैव शसयोर्वयोस्तथा । वदन्त्येषां हि सारूप्यमलङ्कारविशेषाः ॥ I must therefore content myself with noting the slack manner in which व and ब are treated rather indifferently by Hēmachandra.

- (c) In instance number (5), ज्वल्, the elision of ज् is evidently outside the scope of Hēmachandra's grammar, for he nowhere notes the ऊर्ध्वलोप of ज् (*VIII-ii-77* omits ज् from the list), but the fact that ज्वल् yields बल् to Gujarātī and जब् to M. and जल् to H. by the alternative elision of ज् and ब् justifies me in recognizing the elision of ज् here.
- (d) Navalrām Lakshmīrām has obviously erred in recognizing the change of an initial व to ब in his *Vyutpatti-pāṭha*, rule 9; for the instances given by him are either from Hindi (e. g. बत्ती, बाल, बंसी, त्रिजासी, विराज्), or derived from erroneous words (e. g. बकरं from बर्कर, an entirely un-Sanskrit word), बाप from वाप, a similarly fictitious word, बंटी from बिटः—wrong for उपबिटः; or unnecessarily derived from व, e. g. बाफ from वाप्, for Skr. itself has वाप् (with the simple labial ब) also.
- (e) Tessitori, "Notes" § 33, notices the change of a medial व to ब, but restricts it by the condition—"when by aphæresis of a preceding vowel it becomes initial." The instances given by me will show that this condition does not necessarily apply at any rate in the case of Gujarātī.

#### Exceptions:

I can find only a few exceptions, where a purely Gujarātī word has an initial व in Skr. changed to ब; viz: बचु from Skr.



वच; compare M. वाचणे in phrases like त्या वाचून=*without it*, literally, *deceiving it, avoiding it, save it*; or तो वाचला गेला=*he was saved*.

G. वचें may be added as an exception, if we are correct in deriving it from वच्यकं (Skr.).

G. बीदी from Skr. बीटिका is another exception.

So also वगटुं (G.) from विपट् (Skr.); and possibly वगाणं (G.) = *a gain* from विकास (Skr.).

### UTSARGA V.

The change of व to व

In some words व, pure labial, changes to व, dento-labial.

Examples:

| Skr. | Prakrit. | Guj.  |
|------|----------|-------|
| वाच: | -direct- | वांचो |

*Si. III. VIII-i-237* (घोरः) deals with an un-initial व, whereas our instance here is that of an initial व.

### UTSARGA VI.

The change of स to न

न (dental), when coming into contact with ह or weak (लघुप्रत्यय) न or, in some cases, with ए, changes into न (palatal).

NOTE:—In some cases ह or अ preceding a न changes it to न; hence I use the phrase "coming into contact with"; in the majority of instances the ह or अ follow the न.

Examples.

(1) नृपालः (Skr.)—निपाळ (Pr.)—निपाळ (Guj.); (2) नृगद (ह)नं—सिगदहं—गीगद; (3) निषये—निसण, निसह, निगि—निगे (used as an indeclinable meaning मां, 'in, or with respect to'; (4) नृगदहं—गीगद; (5) नृगदहः—गीगदह—निसाळो; (6) नृगदहः—निरिगद (change of gender)—निरिगदं—नमनं; (7) निधते—निरगद—गीगे (ह); (8) नतनी—नतनी—नतनी (=linseed); (9) मातृपद्मा—मातृपद्मा—मातृपद्मा; (10) वरिषामि—वरिषं—वरिष; (11) महिषी—भंग; (12) Dīśya लागी—लाग; (13) तिष्यति—निरगद—गीगे (ह) (gets cooked); (14)

करिष्यति-करिस्सइ-करसे; (15) मार्गशीर्षः-direct-मागसर; (16) वृषा-direct-तरिसा-तरश; (17) परिषेदकः-परिस्सेअउ-परसेवो; (18) कीदृशकं-किसिडं-किस्सुं-शुं; (19) रश्मिः-रस्सी-राश (=a rein) and रशी (=a rope); (20) प्रतिवेशी-पडिसेसी (पडवसी)-पडोशी, पाडोशी; (21) लेखशाला-लेहसाळा-नेसाळ-नीशाळ निशाळ

(a) शृगाल-instance (1).-Vararuchi (Pr. Prak. XI, after *sūtra* 16) gives शिआल as an *ādeśa* of शृगाल; this, however, is confined to this single word and in Māgadhi only. However, as Māgadhi changes every प and स to च, the श in this case is independent of the इ in contact with it.

(b) Instances (11) and (12)-the final सी first changes into स्य under *Utsarga* III, a-(2), Lecture IV, section I, class A, (see *supra* pp. 223-4); and the य् herein changes the dental स्र् to the palatal श्र्.

(c) Instances (10), (14), (16), (17), and (21).-Here the effective इ precedes the स्र्; only in (17)-परिस्सेअउ the ए following the स्र् may be regarded as the cause of the change to palatal.

(d) Instance number (9), माशी;-For full remarks see *supra*, page 78, remarks on (11), and nn. 20, 21.

(e) Instance (18);-the word कशुं is also found; and as the कि or क gets dropped, being unaccented, when yielding शुं, the श्र् may safely be attributed to the य् in स्रुं rather than to the इ in कि.

(f) प्रतिगस्ती also means "a neighbour"; and प्रतिवेश्मक is also found in an old, but undated, *Auktika* in my possession; प्रातिवेश्मक may very well be taken as the source-word of पाडोशी. I leave the choice undecided.

(g) The principle involved in this *utsarga* is found at work in grammatical formations in Gujarātī also; e. g.

बैसतुं-बैशी, बैशीने (having sat down);-पेसतुं-पेशी, पेशीने; दोमो-दोरी (fem.), फांसो-फांशी (f.), रगो-रशी (f.) = a fluid, gravy; वीग

(=twenty)—वींसी (=a period of twenty years); दस (=ten)—दशी  
(=a period of ten years); as in दशीवींसी. वेसुं-वेसुं+य (imperative,  
2nd. pers. sing.)—वेसु; similarly पेस, from पेसुं.

(b) This *utsarga* operates in the case of words derived from Persian also, in some cases; e. g.

(Per.) सिवाप—सिमाय (G.)

(k) The *इ* or *ए* even after they are dropped, leave the palatal change unaltered; as in समथुं, मागसर, यथुं, तरथ etc..

A few exceptions may be noted:—

(1) (Skr.) सद, सम—(Pr. or Ap) सदुं, सउं—(Guj.) शं; (2) सपत्नी-सपत्नी-शक्ति; (3) सपत्नी-सपत्नी-सपत्नी (सिपत्नी-सपत्नी)—शायं  
(as in सायं के शायं); (4)—*Dikya* भोतरिभा-भोतरि (=a terrace before  
a house-door; *Dikya-nāma-mālā*, I, 161); (5) शौर्य-सोरिउ-सर or सर.

In (1), (2), (3) and (4), the *य* changes to *श* without any effective contact of a palatal; in (5) there is an optional change of *य* to *श* without an effective palatal contact.

सप्या-सेज्जा-सेज; here the *य* remains a dental, because the *अ* is a wide *अ*, not a narrow *अ*, which alone is purely palatal, and the purpose of this *utsarga* requires a pure palatal.

होस-होसीलो; रस-रसीलो, रसियो;—

here the *य* remains a dental, in spite of the contact with *ह*.

## VOWEL CHANGES.

### UTSARGA VII.

In some words a non-final *अ* becomes *इ* and a similar *अ* becomes *उ*.

Examples:—

अ—वेह (Skr.)—direct—वीह (Guj.); केन—केन—नीन; डेसगाटा-  
नीगाटा, निगाटा; *Dikya* ठेही (=ठपुरप्पा)—ठीही; *Dikya* नेही (नेह)  
=a locust;—तीह.

Notes:—

(a) Si. Ht. VIII-iv-220 gives वेह as an *idiot* of वेह; this is the source of M. वेह= a siege, and G. वेही (=a spiral

finger-ring). But वीट्ठु (which is the sense of वेष्ट) has to be derived direct, in the circumstances.

- (b) छेदी and सेहो may, in a way, be brought under the operation of *Si. Hd. VIII-i-84*, to yield छिदी and तिहो; but the fact that the *sūtra* belongs to Prākṛit and not to Dēśya and, even if it did, the words in Dēśya have an ए, not इ, as also the fact that फेन at least will remain outside the scope of the *sūtra* (there being no conjunct in it) will justify the recognition of this separate *utsarga*.
- (c) An opposite process, इ to ए, is visible in the case of पारेख (G.) derived from परीक्षकः (Skr.)—परिक्ख (Ap.)—फ being dropped here; but I do not enunciate a separate *utsarga* for this, as *Si. Hd. VIII-i-85* (इतएद्वा) covers this case, though the ए resulting from that *sūtra* is the short ए of Prākṛit whereas that in पारेख is a long ए.

ओ-पूतरकः (Skr.)-पोरख (Pr.)-पूरो (Guj); कोनकः-कोणउ-खणो;  
 छवणं-छोख-छण; सछावण्यकं-सछावण्णउं (सछवण्णउं-सछउण्णउं), सछोणउं-  
 सछण्ण; कपोतः—partly direct-कपतर; पृथुकः-पहुंहु, पडेसु, पाँस-पूँस;  
 छोहकारः-छोहाहु-छहार; छकुमारकः-सोमाळउ-छँवाळो; एकोन (in एकोन-  
 विंशति etc.)-एणुण, ओगण; ककोणिः-कहोणी-कहणी; गोणी-गण्य; शौर्य-  
 सोरिउ-शर, सर; रोमकं-रुंउं.

Notes:—

- (a) पूरो has पोरो as an alternative form also;  
 (b) छहार has छहार also as a further development; the steps being:—छहुआर; छहुवार; छहार;  
 (c) ओगण; the ए is changed to ओ by a reflex action of the ओ in को. M. preserves the ए and has एणुण e. g. एणुणीस.

### UTSARGA VIII

ओ, original or as an evolute of औ, turns into अ in some cases.

Examples:—

गोपूमः—गोहू (गोहूँउ)—पडे;  
 ओगज्जवण्यकं—direct—असयाँउं.

## UTSARGA IX

When the यधुति अकार of Prākṛit is preceded by a vowel other than short इ or उ, the य sound vanishes in Gujarātī and the residual अ merges into the preceding vowel.

Examples:—

पीतककं-पीभलडं-पीछं; शीतलकं-सीभलडं-सीछं; धूतकारः-गअगार-  
जगार-जुगार; आदशंकः-आमरिसडं-आरसो; प्रादकः-direct-घाभट्ट-घाट्ट  
then by विशेष, पराक; यतोपसीतं-जण्णोयईवं, जण्णोअई-जनोइ; स्तोत्रक(ट)कं-  
धोभडडं-धोइ; लोहसण्डं-लोहलंड-लोभलंड-लोयंड; देवराणी-देभराणी-  
देराणी; लेयसाटा-लेहसाटा-लेभसाटा-नेसाट-नीसाट-निशाट; Dēśya  
छेभो (छेभडड)-छेहो.

Exceptions:—

Dīśva:-जुभंजुभ } (=टपक् टपक्)-Gaṇ jujvū;  
जुभजुभ

Dīśya इंतयणं-इंतभणु-इतण; Skr. पूरकः(टः)-पूभइ-पुवट and  
optionally पूट.

Notes:—

(a) पीछं and सीछं may also be traced as under:—

पीतलकं-पीभलडं-पीपलड-पीइलडं-पीछं similarly सीछं.

But I prefer the present *utsarga* as an operative principle.

(b) This principle operates in yielding रदेने, रेदुं &c. from  
लेदने, लेदुं &c., thus:—तहने—रदेने—रेदुं; similarly रेदुं,  
जे'ने जे'दुं &c..

## UTSARGA X

विभृत अ is in some cases changed to भा.

Examples:—

| Skr.     | Pr. or Ap.         | Gaṇ. |
|----------|--------------------|------|
| स्वप्नकः | सिदिगड             |      |
|          | then, neut. सिदिगड |      |
|          | सपणडं              |      |
|          | सदि                | सायं |

[Vallabhaji Haridatta Āchārya in his essay on *Dhāshūvatāra* (*Gujarāt Śālapatra*, April 1908, P. 108 footnote) quotes the following from a festive song sung by Nāgar women of Jūnāgaḍha.—

आज साणामां हेंदो आव्यो

(हेंदो=husband).

Evidently this dialect retains the word in the wide *अ* stage]

भूमि—भूवी—भूई—भोंई, भाई

[*St. II. VIII-iv-395*, illustrations, gives भूई for भूमि. Could the *ह* be a mislection for *ई* (ई) ?]

Notes:—(a) सांपवुं (G.) is सांपवुं in Charotarī Guj. Evidently the principle of this *utsarga* works in this and similar cases.

(b) The change of *अ* to *आ* (itself a wide sound) indirectly supports the wide nature of the *अ* sound.

### UTSARGA XI

The *क* in Sanskrit turns into *अरि* in an interim stage in passing into Gujarātī in the case of some words; and occasionally into *अर* or *रि* or *रु* and sometimes *अरु*.

Examples:—

अरि—

तृषा (Skr.)—तरिषा (interim)—तरश (Guj.); तृणकं—तरिणडं—तरथुं, अमृतं—अमरित—अमरत, वृमिः—करिमी—करम.

अर—

गृहं—गरुह—घरु—घर.

रि—

भानुजकः—भनीजो.

रु—सरककः—सरककड—रोखो.

(The *द* is first elided under *St. II. VIII-i-177*, leaving सरकक, and then *क* is changed to *र*. The same steps occur in the change of *दृग्* to *रि* in सरिस् etc.—under *St. II. VIII-i-142*).

अरु—वृक—वरुभो—वरु

Note:—

It may perhaps be considered better and consonant with *बीजलाप* to treat these phenomena differently and regard the

evolution of क as at first proceeding from the three-fold pronunciation of this strange vowel, viz. as र, रि, र, and then splitting the conjunct by विश्लेष, thus:—कृणकं-कणकं-करकं; कृहे-कहु-कउ-कनु-कर; and so forth. The sound of क is nowhere uniform; in some parts of India कृष्ण, for instance, is कण्ण, in others क्ण, and in others कुष्ण. (In the tradition of the Mādhyandini Śūtra of the Śukla Yajurveda क is pronounced as रे). This may account for the varying changes of क into अ, इ, उ noted in *Si. Hl.* VIII-i-126 to 142 (where इ would be dropped under *Si. Hl.* VIII-ii-79, सर्वत्र स्यरामवन्दे and leave the अ, इ, उ.). Thus while र, रि, र would explain अ, इ, उ evolves in Prākṛit by the elision of इ, they would explain the अइ in Gñj. by विश्लेष. However, I have decided to accept this *utsarga* as framed above for several reasons; first, अरि is in fact found in Apabhraṃśa and Prākṛit in words like वरिसइ &c. (*Si. Hl.* VIII-iv-234), हरिअ (VIII-i-144), वरिसं, हरिसो &c. under विश्लेष (VIII-ii-105);

secondly;—the palatal स in G. तरस points to the इ in तरिस; (the dental स in वरम is explainable by the change of इ to अ in वरिस before इ affecting the स);

thirdly,—Marāṭhī even now has वरिस.

and fourthly—सदुक्त will necessitate the elision of इ in teeth of the usual and more potent elision of र.

I recognize that even then it is possible to trace all changes primarily to the र-रि-र sounds of क, even for the evolution in Prākṛit; thus वरिसइ, वरिसं, हरिसो may have come from an original वि. हि.

## UTSARGA XVII.

### Sandhi.

In the case of words passing into Gujarātī there is, as a rule, no internal vowel sandhi in words, just like Prākṛit, but under special conditions the ordinary sandhi process takes place.

Examples:—

हरयं-दिभवं-हरयं-हरयं

The अ-इ in हरये remain separate.

*Cases of Sandhi:—*

द्वितीयकं-विद्वज्जं-वीजुं; तृतीयकं-तिद्वज्जं-तीजुं; महत्कं-महन्तं-  
 म्हत्तं-म्होदं; देशपतिः-देसवई-देसअई-देसाई; दयावणो (Dêśya)-दा-  
 वणो-दावणो-दामणो (G.-old poetry). [दयावणो=दीनः *Dêśi-nāma-  
 mālā*, V-35].

कृतकं-करिअलं, करइलं-करेलं-and all such forms in एलं.

*Note.*—The question of पदसन्धि may be disposed of by the general statement that there is no पदसन्धि in Gujarātī. There are a few exceptions.—

मगने आब्यो, here मगन+ए (=also) combines by *sandhi* into मगने;  
 दास्तो—from दा ज तो.

*UTSARGA XIII.*

The आ of certain words is shortened into अ.

Examples:—

वाणिज्यं-वाणिज्ज-वणज; मातृपृष्ठं-माइइरं-महियर; आपादः-आसाइ-  
 असाइ; प्रायुणकः-प्राहुणउ-प्हरुणो; पादः-direct-पग; Dêśya अयाली-  
 अयली-ईली,

*Note.*—*Si. Hē.* VIII-i 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, deal with this change; of these 67 mentions उक्तातादिगण, which, by the word इत्यादि, may cover other words. If the instances given here can, by any stretch, be included in that *gana*, the present *utsarga* may be superfluous. If not, it will be an अतृप्ति of VIII-i-67.

*UTSARGA XIV*

In polysyllabic words the syllable (श्रुति) preceding a long or accented syllable (श्रुति), (a) remains short, or (b) if long, becomes short.

Examples:—

(a)

चित्रकारकः-चितारउ-चितारो; छत्रधारः-छत्तहाट-छतार;  
 छत्रजंवारः-छवण्णार, छण्णारु-छनार; चर्मकारः-चम्मार-चमार;



गुर्जरा } - गुजराता-गुजरात; वच्छद-वच्छदः-वच्छद-वच्छदो; *Ditya*  
 गुर्जरा } ठिवाली-ठिवाळ; वटारी-वटारी, वटार.

(b) निःशासकः-नीसासक-निसामो, विभामकः-वीतामक-वितामो, दूतवारः-  
 गभागादु-दुगार; ऐसशाळा-नेशाळ-नीशाळ-निशाळ.

Note:-(a) The expression "preceding" in the *utsarga* above given includes occasional cases where the भुति is व्यपदिष्टपूर्व, i. e. not immediately preceding; this gives room to गुजरात in the examples given above.

(b) ठिवाळ and वटार are given at p. 399 *supra* under the principle of संयोगलोप पूर्वस्वर अविवृत; but the present *utsarga* goes to the root principle which furnishes the cause for the अविवृत state. The principle of this *utsarga* has been referred to at p. 400 *supra* against the marginal note regarding the influence of accent. Tessitori "Notes" § 48, notices this principle, though some of his instances are open to question, so far as Gujarātī is concerned.

### UTSARGA XI

The single consonant in certain words is doubled

(a) sometimes स्वार्थे, i. e. preserving the original sense; and (b) sometimes to indicate emphasis or intensity of meaning, or a phase in meaning.

Examples:—

(a) बिस्वो, बिस्वावो; मग्गर, मग्गर (from मग्गव; मसभदु-मग्गभदु-मग्गर);

(b) कट्ठण, वाई, सोई; निहुं; कण्डुं; सगो, भाण्डुं; साण्डुं (as in, साण्डे साण्डे); भाण्डुं; इज्जार (e. g. "इज्जार मूमे रपेणो, मरेवेवमां छम छम हो") "*Kham-mild*," P. 95, st. 19, l. 4, by Narasimharao Bholanath);

पच्छास, सप्पस (=giddiness; faintness);—from निमिर; दसो; नवो; (the nine and ten in playing cards).

This process is sometimes adopted in द्विरुक् words, e. g. अक्केक, वक्के, चक्का, छक्क, (for एक एक, बेबे, चार चार, छ छ,—with a certain emphasis.)

## UTSARGA XVI

## व्यत्यय (Metathesis)

(This is an extension (अनुपूर्ति) of *Sl. III. VIII-ii-166 ff.*)

The words stated below undergo an interchange of syllables or letters as shown against them.

## Interchange of vowels:—

| Skr.   | Pr. or Ap.    | Guj.   | Skr.    | Pr. or Ap. | Guj.      |
|--------|---------------|--------|---------|------------|-----------|
| मम     | मञ्जु         | मुज    | शकुन-   | direct-    | शुकन      |
| इमञ्जु | मंजु          | मूंजु  | परिविष- | परीस्-     | पीरस(डुं) |
| एकादश  | एगारह-अग्यारह | अगियार | हृदयकं- | हिअअउं-    | हरयं;     |

(See *supra* p. 403 for this partial metathesis). (See *supra* p. 421, n. 188).<sup>1</sup>

## Interchange of consonants:—

|                               |                                                   |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| बिडालकः-बिडालउ-बिडाहो, बलाहो; | नम्र.-first विश्लेष, then interchange-            |
| कलशी-कलसी-कसली;               | नरम;                                              |
| मुद्गारः-direct-मगदळ;         | अष्टादश-अट्टारह-अट्टारह-इडार-इराड;                |
| कर्णिकारकः-कणेरउ-करेणो;       | बहुलसरी-बोलसरी-भोरसली;                            |
| फलाहारः-फलाहार-फराळ;          | मंगलपुर-मंगलउदु-मंगलदुर-मांगलदुर                  |
| परिहितकं-परिहियउं-पहरयं;      | (See <i>Kānhadādē-prabandha</i> , I-22.)—मांगरोळ; |
| परिधापनिका-परिहावणिआ-पहरामणी, | कंकतिका-कांकसी-कांसकी;                            |
| Dēśya-जवरया-जवयरा-जवइरा-      | वाक्य-direct-वायक (Old Guj. and                   |
| भवेरा;                        | generally in poetry).                             |

## Interchange of vowels and consonants:—

|                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| महार्णवः-महारणउ  | प्रावरणकं-पावरणउं |
| महरावणु-मिहिरामण | पावरणउं-उपरणुं.   |
| महिरामण          |                   |
| महेरामण;         |                   |

## Notes:—

(a) Persian has पीराहीन=a shirt; the Gujarati word पहरण which means a shirt of the shape of Mussalman apparel, may be from Persian. All the same पहेरु &c. must really be traced to

परिषा, and it is possible that the Persian word *पीराही* is connected with Sanskrit परिषान्.

(b) *Dāśya* ओदरिस्सो (through ओभरिस्सो), yielding G. ओरयिस्सो presents a peculiar movement of इ and ए, each one syllable-place upwards, which may be noted here as a phenomenon akin to, but not identical with, व्यत्यय.

(c) चरगो (G.) is traceable to Persian चर्म, but this latter is obviously connected with चक्र (Sk.) with the principle of व्यत्यय working on it.

## CONSONANTAL CHANGES.

### UTSARGA XVII.

The change of hard consonants to soft ones. क, च, and ट are changed to ग, ज and ढ respectively.

This is the prevalent feature of the Prākṛits, and its action is further manifested in the evolution of Gujarātī under certain conditions.

क to ग. This change is seen in a very limited sphere, in Prākṛit, viz: मरकत, मदकल, and बंदुक (initial क) change the क to ग (*Si. III. VIII-i-182*). Apabhraṃśa presents a freer movement of this softening process; but, as the illustration to *Si. III. VIII-iv-396* indicates, the softening was prevalent generally in the case of कर (from कृ to do) coming in words like सुगकर, दुगकर and the like. In Gujarātī this change of कर to गर is seen in a still wider field, and the change of क to ग in words where the °कर is not present. Examples:—

कचगरो (= कच प्रमाणे करनारो, obedient); दालगर (= maker of shields); चूदगर (= maker of चूद्री, ivory bangles); दयगर (= maker of tambourines); जादगर (= a magician; note the combination with Persian, जादू); तिरंगगर (= a polisher of swords &c.; तिरंग, Persian); अरहगरो, मुंसांगरो, etc. रनागर (= the aes; Skr. रत्नाकर); कामलगरो (Skr. कामलकर); जुगर (दुतकार; Skr. = a gambler; Gujarātī alters the sense to "gambling," it will not be satisfactory to derive जुगर from दुतकार, as कार्य would be वजन).

કાલ changed to ગાઝો (કાલક: to ગાઝો) in words like these:—  
 લગનગાઝો, ફેરીગાઝો, આંવાગાઝો; etc. (where ગાઝો=season).

પ્રગટ (from Skr. પ્રકટ); પગરણ (a ceremonial occasion, such as  
 a wedding, and the like),—Skr. પ્રકરણ; મૂગો (Skr. મૂલક:); સમૂહ્યું  
 (Skr. સમૂલક:); સયું (Skr. સ્વકર્ક); પલંગ (Skr. પર્યંક:); મુગટ (Skr. મુકટ:);  
 પોગઝ (પોકઝ);—પોકઝ=hollowness; પોગઝ=hollowness, metaphori-  
 cally, i. e. humbug; fraud.

કાગડો (Skr. કારક:); ઘગલો (Skr. ઘકકકા); કયદામી (Skr. કટાક્ષ);  
 ધીગત (Skr. ધ્યસિ:); =details; ઘગડો, તગડો, ચીગડો; the figures 2, 3, 4;  
 here the ગ is from ક in દ્વિક્ક &c.;

The ગ in અગિયાર, ઓગણ (of ઓગણીસ, ઓગણત્રીસ etc.)—from  
 एकोन, must be referred to pre-Gujarātī stages.

It will be observed that this change in Gujarātī is seen in  
 उत्तरपदs like °कर, °कार, °काल; and in select words like ઘગડો,  
 ઘગલો, પોગઝ, અગિયાર; ઓગણ (पूर्वपद of ઓગણત્રીસ etc.); ઘગડો etc.; in  
 रत्नाकर the change may be the result of misapprehension of the  
 °कर of आकर for the form of कृ to do.

Note:—Kanarese shows this softening in words like કોગિઝ  
 (Skr. કોકિલ); મઝગાઝ (=rainy season; મઝે=cloud, rain, વાલ= time);  
 પાગાર (=a compound-wall, enclosure, from Skr. પ્રાકાર:).

ચ to જ

સચિતં (Skr.); સચિઅં—સચ્ચું; સચ્ચું.

પ્રતીતિ: (Skr.); પતીતી—પતીત્ય—પતીચ—પતીજ (=assurance, proof).

ત્વચા (Skr.); તચા—તજ (=cinnamon).

તુચ્છં (Skr.); તુચ્છ (Ap.)—જૂજ (G.); unless જૂજ be traced  
 from Persian જૂઝ.

ઉચ્છિદ્યકં (Skr.); ઉચ્છિદ્યક—ઉચ્છિદ્યક—અજીઠું.

જ (=a particle denoting certainty; as in જ ચોર); may be  
 traced to (a) જ or ચિઅ of Prākṛit (*Si. Hē. VIII-ii-184*)

or (b) જિ of Apabhraṃśa (*Si. Hē. VIII-iv-420*); preferably the  
 latter; in which case this word may be excluded from here.

મોચ્ચે (Kanarese); મોજડી (Guj.)=a shoe.

મોઝું „ =a sock; a stocking.

Notes:—

- (a) M. त्याचें वढे becomes त्याज वढे in a further developement.  
The change of च to ज is visible here also;  
(b) In Prākṛit पिसाजी for पिसाची is shown by Hīmachandra  
(VIII-1-1775, gloss), but as a rare and exceptional case.

ट to ढ:—

This is seen in a rare instance—in Gujarati itself, e.g.  
दह+ताडुं=दहताळ (=locking up of shops; therefore, a close day for  
bazaar; a strike).

As for Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa, षट from षट् &c. come in  
the regular course.

### UTSARGA XVIII

The change of ज to च.

This is an opposite process, hardening of a soft consonant.  
The only instance I find is —

अपमज्य (Skr.)—अममज्ज (Pr ; also Sindhi)

आममज्ज—आममज (intermediate step) आममच  
(Gujarātī).

### UTSARGA XIX.

The change of gutturals to palatals.

क, ख and ग are respectively changed to च, छ, and ज,  
either when influenced by the contact of a palatal vowel or  
य or even without such contact.

Examples.

क to च—

चिकीर्ण (Skr.), चिकीर्ण (Pr.), चिकीर्ण (G.), चिकीर्ण (G.), चिकीर्ण (G.)  
चिकीर्ण (G.).

ख to छ—

उच्छृङ्खल (Skr.), उच्छृङ्खल (Ap.), उच्छृङ्खल (G.).

ग to ज—

गार्भजी (Skr.), गार्भजी (Pr.), गार्भजी (G. also गार्भजी),

Notes:—

(a) For an inner analysis of this sound change see reference to Max Muller *supra* p. 351, also *supra* p. 280, Supplement, (II). The tendency in rural Gujarātī noted there finds a restricted manifestation in the above instance of क to च in urban Gujarātī too. Also compare the tendency amongst some children in their lisping stage, to pronounce कवर्ग letters as चवर्ग letters; e.g. चाचा for काका, छाधुं for काधुं, जाय for गाय, मोढो for घोडो and the like; and चाचा for काका (uncle) is a recognized word in certain circles (e.g. the Brahma-Kshatriya class), allied to H. चचा or चिचा;—all which strongly illustrates the direct sound affinity between gutturals and palatals.

(b) After this, I may with some diffidence hint at a possible misapprehension between ॡ and ॢ being the cause of ॢ changing to ॡ. As I shall note in *utsarga* XXXVIII below, ॡ and ॢ are interchangeable sounds and symbols; and it may be that ॢ=ॡ=ॢ may account for the change of ॢ to ॡ (through the principle of ॢ changing to ॡ—*utsarga* XXXIII *infra*); again, the alternative evolutes of ॢ, viz. ॡ and ॢ (as in लयमण (G.) and लयमन (H.)), may be attributed to the double sound of ॢ (included in ॢ).<sup>3</sup> However, this must take a second place before the higher principle of affinity between gutturals and palatals.

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3. A further question arises regarding the evolution of ॢ into ॡ. Does the ॢ get dropped before the ॡ sound of ॢ in ॢ? Or, does ॢ turn into ॡ and then aspirate the ॢ into ॢ? The question is akin to the question whether in ल, ल्य, च, च्य turning into ल्व, ल्व, च्व, च्व, (the ॢ gets dropped and palatalizes the ॡ, ॢ, ॡ, ॢ into ॢ, ॢ, ॢ, ॢ or, whether, as Beames (Vol. I § 85) holds, the ॡ, ॢ, ॡ, ॢ, get dropped and turn the strong-sounding ॢ (=ॢ) into ॢ, ॢ, ॢ, ॢ by way of a *post mortem* influence. (The last para of my not 106 at page 342 *supra* may be read along with these remarks.).

## UTSARGA XX.

The change of palatal to guttural.

In certain cases च is changed to क and ज to ग.

Examples:—

च to क

निधित्तकं (Skr.), निदिअं (Ap.), निद्रिकडं-नद्दी (G.)

[व्हर्च्युं (G.) is further turned to व्हर्च्युं by some Gujarātis on this very principle.]

ज to ग.—

जरठकः (Skr.), जरदड (Ap.), गरदड, गरदो

घरदो, पयदो (G.).

यादित्तकं (Skr.), यादिअं (Ap.),—याजियुं-याज्युं-वाज्युं (G.);

also वाज्युं (G.).

## UTSARGA XXI

Change of dentals to cerebrals.

त, थ, द and ष are respectively changed to ट, ठ, ड, ढ.

Prākṛit recognises this change to a limited extent, i. e. in the case of certain specified words; *Si. Ht.* VIII-1-205, 206, 207, (where the ट is really a softening of ट evolved from त), 208, (where the थ is a further step after ट), 211, 212, (where the ड is a further evolution of ट); 215, 216 (where the ठ is further softened into ड); 217, 218, 221, 222, (where the ढ is further changed to ढ); 226 and 227. *Sūtras* 228 and 229 deal with the change of न to ण which is extensive in Prākṛit.

I give the present *utsarga* as an अव्युत्ति as it covers post-Prākṛit and post-Apabhramśa words.

For a possible accounting for this change see *supra* Pp. 7-8, about Dravidian influence, and Pp. 23-26, about defective vocal organs.

See also Deames, I, § 59; where a very suggestive and thoughtful account is given of the relation between the dentals

and the cerebrals. It is suggested there that the dentals and the cerebrals are really the weaker and the stronger branches of one and the same group, viz, linguals (both sets being produced by the tongue, and therefore *linguals*); and that Sanskrit-polished and classical-inclined to the softer (i. e. the dental) branch, while the popular speech (the Prākṛits) adhered to the harsher (i. e. the cerebral) forms. Th's view, however, must be accepted with some reservations.

### Examples.

त to ट

श्रुति (Skr.)-श्रुति (Pr.; *Si. Hl. VIII-i-32*)-श्रुट (G);

जेत्तिळ, केत्तिळ, तेत्तिळ (*Si. Hl. VIII-ii-157*)-जेतळ, केतळ,  
तेतळ (*Mugdhāṇvabodha Auktika, P. 17, col. 1*);

जेटळ, केटळ, तेटळ (G);

महत्क (Skr.)-महन्तव (Ap.)-महत्तव (interim)-म्होद (G.);

तिलक (Skr.)-तिलव (Ap.)-टीळ (G.);

आपत्ति: (Skr.)-आपटी (G.); घात: (Skr.)-घांटी (G.).

Note:-*Si. Hl. VIII-ii-29* and *30* cognize the change of double त (either original or evolute of तै) into ट. However, in the above instances the double त is simplified in post-Apabhraṃśa stages, and in the case of महत्तव, the double त is a clear case of later evolution. Hence this separate *utsarga* which is capable of including a single त also, as in तिलक-टीळ.

थ to ठ

मथितं (Skr.)-मठो (G.); एकस्थकं (Skr.)-एकस्थव (Ap.)-एकठ; स्थिरक: (Skr.)-थिरव (Ap.)-ठपों (G.)-by a misapprehension of ठरो like ऊमो, and hence ठरवुं-verb.

द to द

डिद्रकं (Skr.)-डिरव (Ap.)-डीद्र (G); बिन्दु: (Skr.)-मीद्र (G.); बन्धु: or धान्धव: (Skr.)-माण्ड (G.); दंष्ट्रा (Skr.)-दादा (Pr.)-दादव, दद (Skr.)-रदव (G.); दक्षिणक: (Skr.)-दादिणव (Ap.)-दापो (G); संदिग्ध (Skr.)-संदसिधा (Pr.)-सांदही (G.); [दांत from Skr. दंघ.



and द्वांगु from Skr. द्वाङ् need not be cited separately, as द्वाङ् to द्वाङ् is provided for in *St. It.* VIII-i-216; and really तद्दिशि may as well be covered by that *sūtra*.]

Foreign languages:—

दगळेद् (Arabic)—दगळे (G);

घरेद् (Persian)—महद् (G);

घ to द

अद्दी (=two and a half) from अपं+द्दि; दौद् (=one and a half) from द्वि+अर्प;—both evolve the द् from the घ in अपं (Skr.)—अद् (Pr.).

न to ण is a change in full swing in Prāk. itself, (*St. It.* VIII-i-228 and 229). ल to ल has been already dealt with by me at an earlier stage (See *supra* pp. 362 ff., especially p. 365).

Navalarām in his *Vyutpatti-pāṭha, utsarga*, 20 gives the following other instances:—

ऊढ(ुं) from उढपा (Skr.); दंद from दंद (Skr.)—(better दंदो, दंदियो). His other instances are covered by Prākṛit rules.

M. would seem to stick to the dentals in words like मानी, वात, &c. (though *St. It.* VIII-ii-29, 30 would favor the cerebral), yet in other cases it cerebralizes the dental, e. g. Skr. यम्—M. म्द (जं).

Beng. दोन्ना from Skr. प्रतोदी also bears witness to this change of dentals to cerebrals.

## UTSARGA LXII

Cerebral changed to dental.

This is an opposite process. I find only one instance: द् to त;—कोदर (Skr.)—कोतर (G.)

## UTSARGA LXIII

द् changed to ञ

Examples.

भावर (Skr.)—सावर (G);

मर्षा (Skr.)—मर्षा (G);

गारिष (Skr.)—गारिष (G).

UTSARGA XXIV

द changed to ग

Examples.

पादः (Skr.)—direct—पाग (G.); पग (G); (पाग is used at present by Nāgars of Chāndod and Karnāli on the banks of the Narmadā).

वादितकं (Skr.)—वादिचं (Ap.)—वाजियुं—वाज्युं—वागुं—वागुं (G.). (However in this latter instance the ग may be a reverse process from ज्य as a result of misapprehension, ज्य being the rural change of ग्य.)

UTSARGA XXV

Change of ल to न, and न to ल.

Examples:—ल to न.

लक्ष्मणं (Skr.)—लण्डणं (Ap.)—लण्डुं; (I have pointed out this derivation in my essay on *Jōḍaṇi* in 1888 A. D.) लेखशाला (Skr.)—लेहमाला (Pr.)—लेसाल—नेसाल—नीशाल—निशाल.

This derivation derives support from several instances in old Gujarātī literature:—

- (1) पांच वरस बेठ लालीइ  
दस नेसालं संभालीइ

(*Vimala-prabandha*, IV, 35.)

- (2) इति श्री विमलप्रबन्धे नरपंडे लेखशालाकरण.

(Closing note of Khanda IV of *Vimala-prabandha*).

- (3) यम बेठ नेसालं भणइ
- (4) पंडित प्रथम भणावइ भले,  
नेसालीउ जीव नीसले.

(Do IV-36)

- (5) नेसालीया अर पररयो

(Do IV-36)

- (6) एरमार सुती नेसाल

(*Harī-Līlā*, by Bhima; VIII-30)

- (7) विजसाही सयली नेसाल

(Do. VIII-47)

## (8) नमाल लेखशाला

(A nameless and dateless *Aulad* : probably of the sixteenth century Vikrama era)

नमाला has been suggested as preferable to लमाला for deriving निगल. But instance (2) above distinctly points to लेख. Besides नम gives no clear meaning if it means 'training' or 'leading out' (as in 'education' = *to plus et co* I lead), the idea is very modern and of the West, नम = modesty, may be suggested. But in favour of लेख we have several considerations —

- (a) Our old schools dealt with (repeating and) writing on a wooden plank.
- (b) In Marathi even now, in rural areas particularly people say शाळेला लिहायला जातो (he goes to school to write) writing being the function associated with a school.
- (c) मकतब (Arabic) means a place of writing a writing school, from KTB to *write* Katab = he wrote.

Persian *खरेदी* (a line, a stroke) G नरेरी, only in ये माडां नरेरी in  
 क आये माये मोंडु  
 क आये ये मोंडां ये नरेरी

the two full stop strokes marking the end of the वाचगदी thus—  
 व व ॥ being mistaken as part of the symbol for the *visarga*

Persian has *ख* and *न* both e.g. *खाहार*, *नाहार*, *खालाफ*, *नाइलाफ*. The sound affinity between *न* and *ख* is at the root of these words.

Note This *visarga* is through the evolutionary kinship of *न* and *ख* an अनुवृत्ति for *ख*. *SI II* VIII: 206 and 207 note the change of *ख* to *न* in certain words *खंग* and *खिट* (from *खंगार*), o.t. of them have come down to the present vernaculars *नगर* (N) and *निराद* (G). Viewed minutely the Prakrit change of *ख* to *न* is really through *म* as a first step *म* to *न* being the next step under *मौल* (*SI II* VIII: 220).

*खिट* is shown as a *Sk\** word by Apte in his Dictionary, where he quotes from *Dakṣa's* *vyākaraṇa*. All the same I view

it with suspicion as a Sanskritized form of णिडल, especially as Hēmachandra regards it as an evolute of ललाट.

न to ल.

नीलकः (Skr.)-लीलो (G.); नीली (Skr.)-लील्य, लीड; कृष्णसारः-  
कण्डहारु-कन्हारु-कल्हारु-कन्हियार; निम्ब (Skr.)-लीडु (G.); वल्लभ-  
वल्लभल, वनकूल (O. G.).

Notes:—

(a) This part of the *utsarga* is an अनुपूर्ति of *Si. Hl. VIII-i-230*, which prescribes ल for the न of निम्ब only. If निम्ब herein be regarded as a specimen, निम्ब may be taken as included in the *sūtra* itself.

(b) The great affinity between न and ल is evidenced by a variety of words in ancient and modern languages; e. g. नोट (from English *Note*) is pronounced as लोट by Upper India villagers; रुकसान becomes लुकसान in Kanarese. नवनीत (Skr.) is लोणी in M.; नवटांक (=  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a seer weight) becomes लवटांक in the mouths of villagers, M. लवणें is from Skr. नम; Persian सन्दल has the ल from the न in चन्दन (Skr.); Sūratī Gujarātī has लालवुं for नांलवुं. In Kathiāvāda women of a certain caste turn मृगनयनी to मरघालेणी in a wedding song!

### UTSARGA XXVI

ल changed to र, and र to ल

Examples:—

लुडलं (Skr.)-मडल (Ap.)-मरि (G.);  
जान्वल्यमान (Skr.)-जाजरमान (G.);  
लाङ्गलं (Skr.)-लंगल (Ap.)-लंगर (G.) (=an anchor);  
पलालं (Skr.)=straw; पराल (G.)=paddy straw.

*Si. Hl. VIII-i-255* provides for this change only in the case of ल्युल. There is therefore room for this *utsarga* as an अनुपूर्ति ल rather more.

र changed to ल

हरिद्रा (Skr.)-direct-हलद्र (G.);  
हारिद्रयं (Skr.)-direct-दलद्र (G.);  
रुद्रकं (Skr.)-direct-दुद्रुं (G.),

*Si. II.* VIII-1-251 notes इत्थी and इत्थि; but the G. words come direct and by विश्लेष; hence a separate provision is made here. Similarly कथ is not given in the हरिद्रादिगण mentioned in *Si. II.* VIII-1-251, hence a separate provision is made here; unless इत्थादि at the end of the *gaṇa* be taken as including कथ.

पुस्तकः (Skr.)-direct-मगदळ (G.);

कथ्यति (Skr.)-तरित्तद् (Pr.)-तळसे (G.);

मयादा (Skr.) मलानो (G.);

(ये to ह is noted only for पर्यस्त, पर्योण and सौहृमायं in *Si. III.* VIII-II-68)

Note:—The change of र to ळ is a Māgadhī feature (*Si. II.* VIII-iv-288). But I place this as an independent *utsarga*, because (a) Gujarātī does not owe much to Māgadhī, and (b) this change is all prevalent in Māgadhī, whereas in Gujarātī it is limited to certain words only.

### UTSARGA XXVII.

ळ changed to ढ

ढाल्यति (Skr.), ढढारे (ढे) (Guj.);

ताळः (Skr.), ताडु (Ap.), ताह (G.);

(Āpte gives ताहि: ताही a kind of palm; but it is an unfamiliar word; and ताळ alone can be recognized.)

### UTSARGA XXVIII

र changed to ढ, and ढ to र.

र to ढ:—

अर्धं (Skr.), direct अरुं, भद्रं (G.);

कुमारः (Skr.), दुरादो (G.), सौरभ (Skr.), मोरम (G.);

The ढ split off from म unites with ढ evolved from र and yields ढ; the र left from म becomes म (through व); see *supra* p. 335.

द्वादशाधरी (Skr.), बारहाधरी (Pr.), बारहादी (G.);

हस्ताः (Skr.), हस्ताळ, हस्ताळ (G.),

अष्टवारिकं (Skr.), अठ्वादिभुं (G.); पञ्चवारिकं (Skr.), पख्वादिभुं (G.); परं (Skr. (through पडे), पण (G.); see *supra*, p. 334.

The word भरत (G.)=a preparation of roasted brinjal filled with certain condiments, assumes the form भडत also and illustrates this change.

Compare the change of र to ङ in पुरः (Skr.) changing to पुं (M.); see *supra*, p. 94, n. 42; also *supra* p. 281, supplement (III).

### Foreign Languages.

पर्देह (Persian)—पडदो (G.);

मुर्देह (Persian)—मडदुं (G.).

ड to र—

मशकः (Skr.)=mosquito;—मसडु-मडडु-मच्छर.

### UTSARGA XXIX

ड changed to ल.

This is more or less a *sandhi*-change in Gujarātī itself.

कडुं+ल term.—कडलुं-कल्लुं

हांदो+ल term.—हांडलुं-हांल्लुं

### UTSARGA XXX.

Medial र, ड, ङ, and in rare cases ल, change to य.

र, मूर्धन्यतर ड, and ङ—(and in rare cases ल), when medial and united with अ, and when followed by ण or ड, are changed to य.

Examples:—

दोर+डी—(दोरडी)—दोयडी;

देड+डी—(देडडी)—देयडी;

बोर+डी—(बोरडी)—बोयडी;

दळ+थुं—(दळथुं)—दयथुं;

बारथुं                      बायथुं

पाळ+थुं—(पाळथुं)—पायथुं;

अवारिथुं                      अवारियथुं;

शेळडी—(शेळडी)—शेयडी;

पारणा (the breaking of a fast)—पायणां.

This *utsarga* deals with internal changes in Gujarātī itself.

For a full discussion see my essay on *Jodani*, A. D. 1888, pp. 21-26; also my essay on *Jodani*, A. D. 1905, pp. 69-70.

These instances admit of a विकल्प, except in the case of च when it must always turn to य.

### UTSARGA XXXI

The change of स to च, and च to स

स to च,

लालसा (Skr.)—लालच (G.);

आतृष्का (Skr.)—आसंका (Pr.)—आचको (G.); (unless the word (आचको) be onomatopœtic).

च to स—

कंकती (°तिका)—Skr.=a comb;—कांसकी (G.), through ती being heard as ह्यी and ह्य being changed to च.

कांसकी being the first step, then by व्यत्यय it becomes वांसकी.

वांसकी is used in V. S. 1529. (See *supra* p. 428 l. 1 in Appendix A to Lecture IV, Section II). It is in vogue even now in Kāñhiwāda.

Note:—The स sound being allied to the Prākṛit sound of च, it is presumable that the च in the case of this utsarga must be the अर्धतालव्य sound (dento-palatal), though it may subsequently assume the pure palatal sound, as in लालच. (In आचको it is dento-palatal.)

### UTSARGA XXXII.

The change of ज to ञ

I find only one instance:—

वासाजः (Skr.)=वासजतिः, (an oblation of rice at *śrāddha* or obsequies.)—वासजाय (G.).

Note:—The sound of ज here being pure palatal evolves ञ, not स (as it does in the case of दाजो from दाजो, where the ज is dento-palatal.)

## UTSARGA XXXIII

## The change of स to छ.

स, original or a phonetic evolutive, is changed to छ (dento-palatal).

Examples:—

स (original)—

अस्ति-असइ-अस्सइ-अच्छइ-अछइ-छइ-छे (G.).

स (evolutive)—

इमभूः (Skr.)-मंभू (Pr.)-मूछ (G.); शावकः-छावो-छैयो;

मशकः-मसइ-मछर, मच्छर; पण्डकः-सट्टउ-छट्टो;

शकटकं-सकडडं-छकडो; पट्-स-छ.

शुक्तिः-सिप्पी-छीप;

Note:—(a) The छ in छीप is a pure palatal only because of the influence of the ई; in मूछ the छ is pure palatal for some unknown reason;

(b) The छ of पट् (पठः) and शावकः is found in Prākṛit itself (see *Si. Hē.* VIII-i-265), but it is really through a possible phonetic evolutive स under the general rule, दापोः सः (*Si. Hē.* VIII-i-260).

(c) This change of स to छ has been foreshadowed in an earlier part by me; (see *supra* p. 249, also p. 262).

## UTSARGA XXXIV.

## The change of छ to स

This is a reverse process, compared to that noted in the last preceding *utsarga*.

Examples:—

अक्ष (Skr.)-अच्छ (Pr.)-आंस (G.)=the axis of a cart;

पश्चात्तापकः (Skr.)-पच्छात्तावउ (Ap.)-पस्तावो (G.);

तरछः, तरछुः (Skr.)-तरच्छ (Ap.)-तरस (G.)=a hyena. (*Vide* p. 262 *supra*.)



Note:—Marāṭhī has this process pre-eminently. (G.) वृट्(वृ)-  
नृणं (M.); ओट्(वृ)-सोडणं (M.); विचारपूत (M.)=questioning  
(विचार=asking; पूत from वृत्त पुच्छ (Pr.) also=asking), अय,  
curiously, has आंय as well as आंस in M.; इयु (Skr.)-उम (M.)-As  
to U, Prākṛit sound, not existing in M. see *supra* p. 356, para 2  
under (1).

### UTSARGA XXXV

The change of त to क

- (1) सपत्नी (Skr.)—सपत्नी-सपत्नी-ज्ञानिय (G.),
- (2) सापत्न्यकं (Skr.)—सापत्न्य (Ap.)—सापत्न्य (G.),
- (3) भीतिः (Skr.) direct व्दीक (G.).

Notes:—

- (a) For my preference for सपत्नी over Dr. Bhāndārkar's  
सपत्नी, see *supra* p. 89, n. 35. Also see *supra* p. 380,  
instance (21).
- (b) M. has सापत्न्य to express the meaning of सापत्न्य (step-  
relation); the र is an *dgama* under the influence of  
*St. III. VIII-iv-399*, which is farther worked out in  
my *utsarga* I (about प्रथम) in this section. (See *supra*,  
pp. 433-4).

### UTSARGA XXXVI

The change of त to न

Examples:—

- (1) आपत्तं (Skr.)—अपत्तिगु (Ap.)—अपत्त, अपत्त (G.);
- (2) वृत्तं (Skr.)—वृत्तिगु (Ap.)—वृत्त (Old G.)—वृत्त (G.);
- (3) असत्तं (Skr.)—direct—असत्त—असत्त (G.);

Foreign languages:—

- (4) तार्किक (Arabic)—तार्किक तार्किक (G.) (amongst some classes);  
Cl. तार्किक (Sindhi).

Compare M. હુદરક from હુદ્ગમ (Persian).

Notes:—

. *Example* (2) હેજ is used by Narasinha Mehta and others:

કાંઈક હૃદિયામાં રોપ આપ્યો તજ્યું અમશું હેજ.

હેજ ધરીને આપ્યા આધાર જી.

*Narsinha* (*Châturi chhatrisi*, Châturi XII.V. St. 8-9)

અતિ દીસિછિ તપનં તેજ,

પ્રાણીમાત્ર વિવિદ્ અતિ હેજ.

(*Bhâlâna's Kâdambarî*, Part I, Kadavun VI, l. 122).

હજ = *dear, beloved*. Then the adjective is turned into an abstract noun, meaning—the state which makes another dear, i. e. love.

*Example* (3) અકારત ગયું is an expression meaning—*became fruitless*.

## UTSARGA XXXVII

### The change of ઝ to જ

This change stands in a relation of parallel lines of correspondence (ચિમ્બપ્રતિચિમ્બમાત્ર) with the change of ર to ન; the latter set being dentals and the former being cerebrals, and ટ and ઝ, and ન and જ being mutually related by evolution.

For this important relationship I place this as an *utsarga* by itself, although I have only one instance fully answering to the rule. It is કોમલકં (Skr.)—કુંભલકં (Ap.)—કુંભલકં-કુંજી (G.), which has a farther evolute, but an alternative one, in કુંજી.

[કુંદમ્બી-કુંડુંબી-કુંઝબી (n.), કુંજબી-કળબી (G.) may be compared significantly here, though the ઝ and જ in this case are collaterals and not related, one as the evolute of the other. See *supra*, P. 334. n. 94.]

## UTSARGA XXXVIII

The change of व (and sometimes of न) to य.

The व (and some times न) of Sanskrit becomes य in Gujarātī.

Examples:—

व—

विषं (Skr.)—विस् (G.); उषा (Skr.)—भास्वा (G.);  
 श्रेष्ठा (Skr.)—श्रेष्ठम (G.); हर्षः (Skr.)—हरण (G.);  
 घोषयति (Skr.)—गोशेले, वषं (Skr.)—वरस (G.); (in a limited sphere;  
 otherwise वरस); वृषभः (Skr.)—वरस (G.) (as the name of the sign  
 of the Zodiac, वृषभ); वेप. (Skr.)—भेस (G.) (a disguise or garment,  
 especially of an ascetic); संतोष (Caus. Skr.)—संतोष् (G.); संतोषः  
 (Skr.)—संतोक्ष (G.),—a proper noun; (through संतोष).

[(1) भेस primarily means वेप, garb; cf. Narasinha Mehta:—

कृष्णचरित्र गोपी करे, विलसे राधा नार;

एक भई त्यों पूतना, एक भई जु गोपाळ लाल;

एक भेस सुहृन्दको वीनो, तेणे नृणावत (१ नृणावर्त) हरी लीनो;

एक भेस दामोदर धारि, तेणे जमला अर्जुन तारी;

(*Ida-Sahasrapadi, XIX, 5-7*)

(2) The व in वेप gets a ह as a प्रत्यय, वेप, and this व्ह becomes य, as in जीय from जिह्वा; or, व is changed to य (Hindi process) and then ह is interpolated as a संकर, and so भेस.

न—

दंशः (Skr.)—दंय (G.); also the verb दंश.

Notes:—

(a) The case of दंय seems to be the result of a possible mistake of the palatal य् for the cerebral य् especially as दंय turns its palatal य् to the cerebral य् in some cases, e. g. दंय (participle), and the like.

(b) The sound of य् as य् seems to date as far back as the Vedic period, at any rate since the traditions brought by the *Mādhyamajimi Śūtra* of the Śākya Yajurveda, whereunder य्, simple

the sound  $\text{ṛ}$  for  $\text{ṛ}$  has existed continuously upto recent times in the Mādhyandina tradition, it is just possible to imagine the cause of this curious fact, viz: that in certain classes the special vocality of the people favoured this  $\text{ṛ}$  sound and it clung to them.

A question may be asked. How could one and the same letter  $\text{ṛ}$  have represented two sounds so widely different as  $\text{ṛ}$  and  $\text{ṛ}$ ? The answer is clear. As a matter of fact  $\text{ṛ}$  did represent these two different sounds in the Mādhyandini Śākhā, ( $\text{ṛ}$  in  $\text{ṛṛ}$  and  $\text{ṛṛ}$ , but  $\text{ṛ}$  in  $\text{ṛṛ}$  &c. and also  $\text{ṛ}$  in other Śākhās and Vēdas), well, if this was possible at that period, the phenomenon could with equal probability have manifested itself at the early period of the old Aryan. Nor are  $\text{ṛ}$  and  $\text{ṛ}$  so wide apart after all.  $\text{ṛ}$  must have evolved the  $\text{ṛ}$  sound and this latter ( $\text{ṛ}$ ) must have hardened into  $\text{ṛ}$  (as Beames indicates the relation of  $\text{ṛ}$  and  $\text{ṛ}$ ; Vol. I P. 262).

I cannot discuss this question at greater length here, but hope to do so in a separate article elsewhere, if possible. However, I may observe here that while Brugmann posits a conjectural source-word,  $\text{ŌKTŌU}$  (also  $\text{ŌKTŌ}$ )<sup>3</sup> for  $\text{अग्नी}$  in the Indo Germanic parental language,—where the word is believed to be sounded as  $\text{ओइनी}$ , I posit a conjectural  $\text{अग्नी}$ , and I believe the probabilities are more in favour of  $\text{अग्नी}$  in the light of the  $\text{ṛ}$  sound of  $\text{ṛ}$  in general in the Mādhyandini Śākhā.

End of Volume I

3. See Brugmann's "Comparative Grammar" translated by J. Keyser Conway and W. H. D. Rouse, Vol. 1, §§ 77, 85, 151, 231.

## ADDENDA

P. 85, n 31. Add —

(b) कुटुबि इयामणे गोपक छेण्डवक × × × ×

(Valabhi grant of Guhasena, l 5 of Valabhi *Samtat* 268 or thereabouts)

Dr Buhler translates the above thus —

“the Kunbi Syamanera, the herdsman Ohhendavaka”

(Ind Ant Vol V p 207, and P 206, Col 2.)

P. 127, n. 12 Add —

Also by the change of उ to ष when inflectional changes remove the accent from उ as in पाउस-पावसात

Page 139. Item 7. Col 4

Where there is a blank—read वेरे

P. 195 After the last para about गृहक-परु, -Add—

I learn that in Kathiavada परु (sing) is still in use, but in a restricted and metaphorical sense, e g चरमांतु परु (the case of a pair of spectacles), इवे प्रतिवृत्तौ (Panini V iii 96) operating here in a way

P 236. At the end after the instance सुच्-Add —

उच्+स्था उत्थितक उद्धिभउ उठय उद्

[ Note—Pr too has उट्ट (S. III VIII-17), though तिष्ठति becomes ठा as well as चिट्ठ under VIII-17-16, this latter *sūtra* 16 is rendered inoperative in the case of स्था with उच् because of the specific provision of उट्ट for स्था with उच् in the former *sūtra*, 17 This may indicate that this process of forming roots backwards from पात forms has its distant source in Prakrit itself ]

P. 263, n 110 Add—

It may be noted that अम् (VI) -e ह तेपे ते असतान मी वेले असते, etc is derived not direct from अम् (Skr) but through the Pr अच्, changed later on to अद्

P. 273 after l 4 add —

Anantadeva in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Pratya*, *Sūtra* II-3 (Benares Sanskrit series edition of the *Śūlābhāṣya*)

and appendices, p. 421) quotes the following verse from the *Mādhyandina-Śikshā* —

शपसदा यत्र दृश्यन्ते रेफेणाद्विक्तमस्तथाः ।

स्वरं भर्त्तुं प्रयुज्जीत संयोगे नैव वारयेत् ॥

(I do not find this verse in the said *Śikshā* as published in the *Śikshā-Saṅgraha* (Benares Sanskrit Series) but in the *Laghu-Mādhyandina Śikshā*, in the same compilation at pp. 114-115 I find a different version of it—

रेफो रेफस्त्वमाप्नोति शपदेव परेयु च ।

दृदर्शं यथेर्द्धां संयोगे नैव वारयेत् ॥

If Anantadēva's quotation is accepted, स्वरं भर्त्तुं will go against my interpretation of स्वरमपि.

P. 274. at the end of (c) add:—

Ohanda (III-30) covers all necessary vowels by the term इष्टस्वरः (संयोगस्येष्टस्वरागमो मध्ये ॥).

P. 274 before the last two lines:— Add:—

However, these sections (312-313) deal mainly with Anaptyxis in western languages and § 313 only incidentally mentions the full विष्टेय of Prākṛit, but not at all the Vedic *Śrara-bhakti* or its instances. Brugmann's other work (translated into English by Conway and Rouse) in § 621 deals with anaptyxis, and under the heading *Sanskritisms*—"Medial anaptyxis made its appearance first in the Prākṛit dialects", and cites instances like हरित (हर्षं), पदुम (पद्म), क्षमरामि (स्मरामि), मिनेइ (म्वेइ), and only speaks of *prothesis* in Vedic, citing इरज्यति, इरपते, इर्य (also उर्य), उलोइ (also लोइ), adding the remark "these forms were probably taken from some vulgar dialect". But nowhere, so far as I can ascertain does the work mention the Vedic *Śrara-bhakti*.

P. 285. At the close of the Note A on स्वरमपि add:—The Śikshās give details about स्वरमपि, minor than the *Prātibhāṣā*. (See Dr. Keithorn's article, "Remarks on the Śikshās", *Ird. Ant.* V, pp. 142 ff.; p. 143, col. 2 and n. \*)

P. 281. after para 1, under II.

Add:—

[मातृप्वसा (Skr.)-माउस्तिआ (Pr.)-मावशी (M.) also pointedly illustrates *prati-samprasāraṇa*.]

P. 282, (V) add.—

Dr. Tessitori ("Notes", § 141, (2)) regards उयावइ as the causal of लीड (=लेइ) by the addition of आपय्. He is obviously on the wrong tack.

P. 307. At the end—add.—

I have stated at p. 304, n. (middle) that the change of sense in the word *Cava*, *cavea*, from "hollow" to "a cave" does not involve a great wrench. Since I wrote the above I found incidental support in Max Muller's "Science of Language," Vol: 1, pp. 429-30 where he says:—"Cavus, or hollow is a secondary not a primary idea. Before a cave was called *cavea* a hollow thing, many things hollow had passed before the eyes of men. Why then was a hollow thing, or a hole, called by the root *Car*? Because what had been hollowed out was intended at first as a place of safety and protection, or a cover, and it was called therefore by the root *ku* or *slu* which conveyed the idea of to cover." My derivation, गुप् to protect and गुह् to hide runs so very close to this that I am tempted to ask—could Ku have any connection with गुह्, गुप्, and the obsolete गुक् postulated by me? Or, why could we not accept गुक् the parent of गुप् and गुह् in preference to this *slu* or *ku*? I place these suggestions with all deference.

P. 316. This *anusāra* was unknown to Sanskrit.

I should modify this statement. The strength of the nasalized ए in तौलोकान् as pointed out *infra* pp. 328-9, n. 91, may be regarded as due to the conjunct ल, and the *anusāra* can be viewed as weak. But further than this we have the foreshadowing of the weak *anusvāra* in the Vedic sounds known as रंग or रक्त vowels. (Rik-Prātiśākhya, I-17; where *Utaṭa* illustrates by मर्दो इन्द्रो नृवध्; and I-29 speaks of a रक्त वकार which *Utaṭa* illustrates by ऊँरयै.) Pāṇiniya *Silshā* has:—

यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारी तर्कं इत्यभिभाषते ।

पत्रं रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः ऐभरौ इव खेदया ॥

Gloss:—सौराष्ट्रदेश उत्पत्ता स्त्री तत्रप्रियायं यथा तत्रा इति कांस्यव्यवसिप्तं भाषण एव वेदेऽपि रङ्गाः प्रयोक्तव्याः । येदे उदाहर्य दर्शयति । ये अरौ इव रोदयेति ॥

(see *Rig-Vêds*, VIII-77, 3).

The gloss is from a commentary on the *Sarra-Samvata-Śikshā*, obtained by Dr. Keilhorn from Mahisur.

(See Dr. Keilhorn's article, "Remarks on the Śikshās", Ind. Ant. Vol. V, p. 142 n. †).

Thus this weak nasal, which flourishes luxuriantly in Apabhramśa and modern vernaculars, has its distant source in Vedic phonology.

I need not deal with the several varieties of this nasalized vowel described in the *Amoghārandinī Śikshā* (41 to 46), such as अतुरङ्ग, मदरङ्ग, अतिरङ्ग and five kinds of रङ्ग, viz. पात, निपात, यत्री, अदिण and प्रदिण.

P. 330.

(a) After quotation from *Śilāratī-no-Rīsa* add:—

एक अणुदाण उघाण्ण

(*Kūṃharādī-Praśaṅgha*, I-151)

(b) After ओपणु-भाषडे add.—

मदनफलं (Skr.)-मयणदल (Ap.)-मदनदल-मीडल

(=the fruit of a tree, which, strung in a red string, is tied round the wrist of the bride and the bride-groom).

The ई evolved from ण here leaves the nasal with the preceding ई and unites with the following द into द.

P. 330, after l. 4 add:—रोमके (Skr.)-रंजु (G.).

P. 330, lower half, after (a) add:—

रमणु, तमणु can be traced to त्रिगुणकं, त्रिगुणकं; विउणकं, तिउणकं, विउणकं, तिउणकं; the व then changing to म.

P. 773; after the middle part dealing with अतुर, add:—

We can take the principle further back to the pre-Sanskrit period. If *urgataṃ*, (L.) be accepted as allied to रमणम् (Skr.).



wherein the first syllable of their common ancestor got dropped in the Sanskrit word, being unaccented.

P. 385. At the close of *utsarga XII*, add:—

This process occasionally operates in द्विरक्त compositions,  
e. g. चारचार-चच्चार.

P. 409. After अयारे add:—

The double त्त in अत्तआरद् in getting reduced to a single त्त transfers its strength to the य, as it were.)

P. 411. under the list (a) add:—

परीक्ष् परिक्ष् पाखडं,  
अरकः अरड आरो (the spoke of a wheel)

[आरः Skr. is rare.]

P. 441. *Utsarga VII*. In the examples, add-दैयर (Skr.)-  
दियर (G.).

Page 444. At the end add:—

(This process is anticipated in Prākṛit in the rare change of Skr. वृक्ष to Pr. रक्ख (*St. Hé. VIII-ii-127*); the °कृक्ष of सदृक्ष and वृक्ष presents a common feature; and as in the case of सदृक्ष there is no other possibility than the elision of वृ first, I see a similar process in the case of वृक्ष as well,—viz. the elision of वृ first and then the change of कृ to र. This being my view, I am not inclined to agree with Dr. Gune's analysis of रक्ख (from वृक्ष), viz: meta-thesis of वृ and कृ and then *Samprasāraṇa* of वृ; (his *Introduction to Comparative Philology* p. 26, para 2).

P. 446. *Utsarga XIII*

Add to the examples:

प्रावरणकं-पावरणडं-पाउरणडं-उपरणु.

P. 448. under *Interchange of vowels*, add:—

जानवर (Pers.)—जनावर (G.) as some persons write and speak; e. g.

“जान जनावरनी मळी, मेघाडंबर गाजे”.

(*Bāla-garabāvalī*; *Navalarām*)

## ADDENDA

(Supplementary)

P. 64, आरिया-आभेस

Professor Soares, after the conclusion of a paper read by him before the B B R A Society on 27th October 1921 on "The Influence of Portuguese on Indian Languages" said, in answer to an inquiry by me that आरिया was from Portuguese, but आभेस was not. I asked "could it be from Arabic?", and another member said "it might be from Arabic" Arabic *habas*=he held back (Steingass' Arabic-English Dictionary) would be near the mark, I believe

P. 97 III Distinction

It is interesting to note that these very forms करियइ and करिअइ furnish the Gujarati language with other two modes करियइ gives करिये as a directive advisory form, e.g. आમ કારયે, સમઘ્યા? This sense may be deducible from the first personal plural present indefinite (करिये) while करिअइ gives કરजे future tense, imperative, second personal singular form તુ આમ કરજે, whereas करिअउ (3rd person singular) yields the plural form in the same mood and tense—કરજો (તમે આમ કરજો)

P. 131, n 14, l. 3 Add —

. अर्वाणु is used by Mr. Nannalāl D. Kavi also in his poem—  
राजराजेन्द्रने, 111-4 —

अनोली वस्तुत एक राख्य सप्तस्थान आ

P. 250, latter half.

I cannot find the full quotation अउंउम वा पिंउम वा &c. in Weber's *Fragments from Bhagavati*, i 411

P 252; last line but one

√accha gam(°) 757"

Note —Weber's *Fragments from Bhagavati*, p 411 has—  
a. hya (gachet) Here he gives up the conjectural attitude adopted in his index to *Hita* and becomes affirmative, though I doubt the correctness of his affirmation

P. 251, n. 101—add.—

True, *Si-Hé*. VIII-iv-367 has also an instance (कज्जे कवणेन= केन कायेण) where कवण agrees with a noun (कज्ज) in the neuter gender. But I think कवण in its strict application was masculine (then, feminine), and it gradually got a wider scope including the neuter gender through laxity of idiom, as it first included the feminine gender and then the neuter gender.

P. 332. l. 9.

Note:—This phonetic phenomenon is noticed and accounted for in a slightly different manner by Dr. Peile. (*Vide his Philology. Literature Primer*, Mac Millan & Co; Chap. I, pages 85, 86). Amongst the instances cited there are—

*humble* (Eng.) from *humilis* (Lat.);

*chamber* (Eng.) from *Camera* (Lat.);

*thunder* (Eng.) from *thunor*.

His explanation is this—

"Let a portion of the breath be retained in the mouth after that which passes through the nostrils is spent; when the tongue is removed and the breath passes out, an unintended *d* is produced."

"The *b* has slipped in when the mouth opens after sounding *m*, before the following *l*; the position for sounding *b*, and *m* being the same, just as we saw it was the same for *n* and *d*."

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 हंकी 180,

## ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA

| Page       | Line                  | Incorrect                                       | Correct                                  |
|------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Preface:—v | 6                     | IV                                              | VII                                      |
| „          | 7                     | V, VI & VII                                     | IV, V & VI                               |
| 2          | 4 from the bottom     | obvious, the                                    | obvious. The                             |
| 26         | 7                     | all                                             | none                                     |
| 40         | 17                    | G. R                                            | R. G.                                    |
| 46         | 16                    | land.                                           | land, on the other.                      |
| 47         | n. 35. l. 8           | is                                              | ए is                                     |
| 54         | n. 40 last line       | sukh                                            | sukharāms                                |
| 56         | n. 45 l. last but one | तेवतेरदो                                        | तेरतेवरी                                 |
| 58         | last but one          | Ananas                                          | Ananas, Ananas,<br>(Century Dictionary). |
| „          | n. 47 l. 5            | anassa                                          | anassa                                   |
| „          | „ l. 6                | ananas                                          | nanas                                    |
| 73 to 88   | Top heading.          | Historical and other forces-working on language | Phonetic forces affecting language.      |
| 76         | 2 from the bottom     | उदः                                             | उदः                                      |
| 77         | 19                    | मयंरम                                           | मयंरमं                                   |
| 84         | 1                     |                                                 | omit उपरतः                               |
| 85         | n. 31 (b)             | कृषिः                                           | कृषिः                                    |
| „          | „ (c) l. 1            | पेसमां                                          | पेसमां                                   |
| 90         | n. 26, l. 4           | formed                                          | found                                    |
| 103        | n. 49 l. 24           | तते च यरेणौ ॥                                   | ताने चये रेणौ ॥                          |
| 107        | 24                    | पुसिः                                           | पुसिः                                    |
| 108        | last but one          | दोषः                                            | दोषः                                     |
| 116        | 6                     | हं                                              | हं                                       |
| 117        | 11                    | हं पारो                                         | हं पारो                                  |
| 123        | 12                    | भरण                                             | रण                                       |
| 128        | 11                    | (2)                                             | Expand this (2)                          |
| 129        | 18                    | (1) Under...                                    | (A) Under ..                             |
| 132        | n. l. 21              | भनागा (H.)                                      | भनागा (H.)                               |



| Page | Line            | Incorrect        | Correct                                                                                      |
|------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 134  | 20              | कयूर             | कयूर                                                                                         |
| "    | 22              | सयूर             | सयूर                                                                                         |
| 135  | n. 151.10       | सिरीसं           | सिरिसं                                                                                       |
| 152  | last            | हिअउं            | हइअउं                                                                                        |
| 162  | marginal note   |                  | put (5) before<br>"Sir George,"<br>and separate<br>the sentence<br>into a para by<br>itself. |
| 163  | 11              | 107              | 167                                                                                          |
| "    | 13              | ए                | ऐ                                                                                            |
| 184  | 9               | विधो             | विधौ                                                                                         |
| 193  | 5               | छेओ (+क)<br>(=ड) | छेओ + (क) }<br>(=ड) } + (क)                                                                  |
| 210  | last            | कीर्य            | रीर्य                                                                                        |
| 216  | last para l. 5  | Pr.              | Ap.                                                                                          |
| 219  | 22              | नगारह्           | नगारेह्                                                                                      |
| 236  | 23              | Pr.              | Ap.                                                                                          |
| 238  | 19              | 17               | 18                                                                                           |
| 244  | 5               | आप्              | आव्                                                                                          |
| 251  | 13              | आण               | आणे                                                                                          |
| 256  | n. 104 l. 1     | न+अस्थि          | न+अस्ति                                                                                      |
| 257  | 7 and elsewhere | Bhojpuri         | Bhojapur                                                                                     |
| 259  | 12              | नस्थि            | अस्थि                                                                                        |
| 260  | 13              | अस्              | आस्                                                                                          |
| 260  | 25              | स्               | अस्                                                                                          |
| 263  | 12              | प ह्             | पठ्                                                                                          |
| "    | n. 110 l. 4     | कोऽथः            | कोऽर्थः                                                                                      |
| "    | " "             | कुर्वम्          | कुर्वन्                                                                                      |
| 266  | 13              | has              | was                                                                                          |
| 268  | item 19         | वक्रकं           | वक्रकं                                                                                       |
| "    | l. 25           | then संपाड       | then संपड                                                                                    |
| 270  | "               | बडावो            | बडावो                                                                                        |

| Page | Line               | Incorrect                                                                         | Correct                                      |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 272  | 28                 | caesura                                                                           | caesura                                      |
| "    | 33                 | Śrautarim                                                                         | Śrautarim                                    |
| "    | "                  | pūruṣa                                                                            | puruṣa                                       |
| 285  | 11                 | वेध                                                                               | वेधः                                         |
| 286  | after l. 5         |                                                                                   | add:—संमुग्धकं संमुग्धं ह्यमुं               |
| "    | 18                 | भेग                                                                               | भेग                                          |
| "    | n. 8               | हे                                                                                | ह                                            |
| 287  | n. 9 l. 8          | घण्णो                                                                             | घण्णो                                        |
| "    | " "                | P. 23                                                                             | P. 128                                       |
| 289  | 18                 | arrested.                                                                         | arrested). (After that change paragraph)     |
| 291  | last               | Note                                                                              | Note below (18).                             |
| 295  | n. para last l. 2  | medial                                                                            | mediae                                       |
| 303  | 8                  |                                                                                   | make a separate para beginning with "Deames" |
| 304  | n. 28 l. 9         | गुह                                                                               | गुहा                                         |
| "    | " l. 28            | Luh                                                                               | Lih                                          |
| 308  | 14                 | लृ                                                                                | लृ                                           |
| 310  |                    |                                                                                   |                                              |
| 315  | l. 1               | under घ add:—भाषमनी (Skr.) भाषमनी (G.)                                            |                                              |
| "    | n. 56 l. 1         | (फलाहार...फराय) this instance should be placed at P. 314, just below माहाराष्ट्रः |                                              |
| 316  | after l. 8         | परदि                                                                              | वरादि                                        |
| "    | n. 56 l. 12        |                                                                                   | add-निम्ब निम्ब, लीम्ब                       |
| 320  | 14                 | वृषकः                                                                             | वृषक.                                        |
| "    | 15                 | उद्दिभा                                                                           | उद्दिभा                                      |
| 321  | 14                 | इद्दिभा                                                                           | इद्दिभा                                      |
| "    | marginal note l. 3 | lengthened                                                                        | lengthened, and the averted-a is strong      |
| 324  | 28                 | vowel                                                                             | averted-a                                    |
| "    | n. 87              | पञ्चो                                                                             | पञ्चो                                        |
| 327  | 17                 |                                                                                   | (This note should be transferred to p. 325)  |
| 328  | 6                  | व                                                                                 | व                                            |
| 329  | 7                  | ह                                                                                 | ह                                            |

| Page | Line                                                           | Incorrect                                                                                                                                  | Correct                                |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 333  | 19                                                             | ii-106).                                                                                                                                   | after this add-सिम्बली                 |
| "    | 20                                                             | for म्ल-म्म-म्प read म्ल-म्मल-म्वल; म्म-                                                                                                   | म्म-म्व.                               |
| 334  | n. 94, trec. l. 2                                              | हुंवी                                                                                                                                      | वृहुंवी                                |
| 339  | n. 102 l. 6                                                    | and                                                                                                                                        | त and                                  |
| 343  | 10                                                             | चेलो                                                                                                                                       | चेलो, चर्छ (=itching sensation), चर्न, |
| 352  | 6 from bottom                                                  | अस्पष्टता                                                                                                                                  | अस्पष्टता                              |
| "    | 8 " "                                                          | ईपस्पष्ट                                                                                                                                   | ईपस्पष्ट sound.                        |
| 355  | 24                                                             | Birār                                                                                                                                      | Bihār.                                 |
| 360  | 1                                                              | III                                                                                                                                        | VIII                                   |
| 361  | 11                                                             | statement                                                                                                                                  | belief                                 |
| 362  | 6                                                              | वणचरउं                                                                                                                                     | वणचरउं                                 |
| 364  | n. 126, l. 2                                                   | हुंहुं                                                                                                                                     | हुंहुं                                 |
| 365  | n. 127 l. 6                                                    | स्थान                                                                                                                                      | स्थान                                  |
| "    | " l. 7                                                         | इन्त                                                                                                                                       | इन्त                                   |
| 372  | 22                                                             | after उच्छिष्टक (Skr.); add as under:—<br>also दूहा (=a bridegroom) for Skr. उद्दूकः, Pr. उद्दूओ; (see Dr. Dhāṇḍārkar's Lectures, P. 165); |                                        |
| 377  | 21                                                             | W. Rāj.                                                                                                                                    | O. W. Rāj.                             |
| 388  | 1                                                              | (तेट्टु)                                                                                                                                   | ((तेट्टु)                              |
| 390  | n. l. 21                                                       | जिह्वा                                                                                                                                     | जिह्वा                                 |
| 398  | after last line of text, add:—परीष् परिकम् परल(हुं), पारल(हुं) |                                                                                                                                            |                                        |
| 408  | 2                                                              | मद्यचारी                                                                                                                                   | मद्यचारी                               |
| 413  | 6 from bottom                                                  | of this para (a)<br>of the utsarga                                                                                                         | of para (a)<br>of this utsarga         |
| 416  | last but one                                                   | या                                                                                                                                         | या                                     |
| 443  | Utsarga IX, Note (b), l. 2                                     | तदने                                                                                                                                       | तेदने                                  |
| 449  | 1                                                              | पीराही                                                                                                                                     | पीराहीन                                |
| 469  | 3 from bottom                                                  | 263                                                                                                                                        | 275                                    |
| 471  | 8 from bottom                                                  | 773                                                                                                                                        | 378                                    |